

**SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE OF THE SULTANATE PERIOD WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS:
A STUDY BASED ON PERSIAN *MALFUZAAT***

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DECLARATION

I declare that the work done in this thesis entitled, "**Socio-Cultural Life of the Sultanate Period with Special Reference to Different Religious Movements: A Study Based on Persian Malfuzaat.**"

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**DEDICATED TO THE
AMBASSADORS OF
LOVE AND PEACE**

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It is a great feeling to take a dip into the ocean of Sufism but I'm reluctant every time to come out of it! I wish I could be drowned in its currents – which are very strong but soothing to me. This project was an interesting journey for me, and in fact, the journey has only just begun. I consider my whole life as being well spent if I fully utilise even one percent of Sufi principles.

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On translation of Persian text: the author relied on K.A. Nizami, B B Lawrence and Khwaja Hasan Sani Nizami's works, who without these excellent references, this work would have been impossible.

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**Ek masjid me das darwaze jamen base kartar
Apne Apne Niyam dharma se puje sakal sansar**

- *Hazrat Mohiuddin Chishti*

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INTRODUCTION

More than a century has passed since scholars began to realize the need for interpreting the history of Sufism in terms of contemporary historical science. The progress that has been made since then in many directions is undeniable. Yet every advance has thrown into sharper relief that we have a long way to go in understanding just how large a part Sufism plays in terms of recording history.

It is a general phenomenon worldwide that commoners were never a subject for thought, discussion or writing of in political chronicles. The authors of these historical and political texts did not deem commoners ‘interesting’ and rarely visited the dwellings of those who made up the majority of the kingdom. To an historian, these people seemed non-existent, *persona non grata*. It is not surprising then that the theme of their works centred around the state, its ruler, and the ruling class. Many historians were in fact employees of the ruling classes; they spoke the language of their patrons, and were paid for the very activity of chronicling their lives. What do these source books provide then in terms of realistic information about life during that period?

It is with great thanks to the Islamic mystic movement of Sufis, who paid importance to the human being rather than materialism in the form of power and assets.

In the beginning of the 14th century, a distinct type of literature was born in the *khanqah* of Sufi saint Nizamuddin Auliya. This is the only literature where ruling classes were not the main subjects, and in fact, many *malfuzaat* do not even make mention of these classes. Except Iltutmish¹, one cannot find names of any ruler of medieval India on the pages of *malfuzaat*.

During the 14th century, Amir Hasan Sijzi decided to disseminate the teachings of his master, Nizamuddin Auliya, recording Nizamuddin's discourses a year before his master was aware. Finally he took formal permission from Nizamuddin to record him, and the first conversation was recorded on Sunday, 3 Shaaban A.H. 707 (January 27, 1308)².

Understanding the *malfuzaat* requires an appreciation of its philosophy and the era when it was penned down. In a seminar on the “Relevance of Sufism in the Contemporary World” (New Delhi, January 2002), Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sani’s³ lecture was academically useful but failed to offer satisfactory explanation to questions of the audience. Why? The audience

¹ Iltutmish (1210-1236) was disciple of Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki in whose memory he built Qutub Minar in Mehrauli (Delhi).

² Sijzi, Amir Hasan, *Fawa'id-ul-Fuad* p. 176

³ Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sani is the *Sajjada Nashin* (spiritual successor) of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya.

may have been too scientific in temperament to entertain stories of miracles.

Indeed, *malfuzaat* is rich with parables and miracles that will have little value to a human mind with a scientific temperament. Yet it is not the parables or miracles that are important, but the messages hidden in it. These messages are indispensable if we look the way contemporary world is taking shape.

A semiotic⁴ approach can be adopted for reading *malfuzaat*. Semiotics is deeply rooted in popular culture and relies on the play between denotations and connotations associated with ideas. The role of the semiotician is to ‘read between the lines’ and look for new meanings in age-old ‘signs’. It should be noted that meanings which society assigns to a ‘sign’ is not constant and evolves with time. Semiotics is used to decipher those meanings which the society assigned to a particular ‘sign’ in a certain era. In this study, I have attempted to read between the lines in order to arrive at an understanding of life in the times of the Delhi sultanate with particularly reference to the *malfuzaat*.

⁴ Semiotics is the science of the study of signs and symbols, what they mean and how they are used in texts. (Dr. Ashish Agnihotri, School of Language, Literature and Cultural Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, provided illuminating illustrations on the various methods of reading texts that helped me gain deeper insight in the *malfuzaat*).

The translation of the malfuz texts follows in the pattern of K. A. Nizami and Bruce B Lawrence, two eminent experts on Sufism and medieval Indian history.

In Chapter One, A Brief Historical Account of Sufism, a backdrop is given to the 14th century Sufis and context provided for the birth of the *malfuzaat*.

In Chapter two answers to questions such as what, when, why, and how relating to the *malfuzaat*. The author has traced the origin and development of this literature, its historical, religious and literary importance in ‘correcting’ history written under the patronage of ruling dynasties.

Chapter Three is a reading of the socio-cultural aspect of the sultanate period, based on two malfuz texts, Nizamuddin Auliya’s *Fawai-ul-Fuad*, and Nasiruddin Chirag-i-Delhi’s *Khair-ul-Majalis*.

Chapter Four contrasts the information provided in chapter three, by examining the themes and attitudes within other historical sources of the sultanate period.

Sufism is then put under the spotlight, in comparison to its Hindu counterpart, the Bhakti movement, in Chapter Five.

The concluding remarks suggest that this area of study has much scope, and given the information gleaned from this research, it is an exciting prospect that there are still many more *malfuz* texts which are waiting to be analysed.

1. A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF SUFISM

Sufi ideology is based on Islam, and is centred around a personal relationship with God. Sufism's metaphysical and doctrinal position received its legitimacy from the Quranic injunctions and *Hadith*.⁵ The most crucial Quranic verse for Sufis describes the establishment of the primordial covenant between God and the souls of men and women in a time before the creation of the cosmos. "And when your Lord took from the loins of the children of Adam their seed and made them testify about themselves (by saying), "Am I not your Lord?" They replied "Yes, truly we testify!"⁶

This unique event which confirms the union between God and the souls of all human beings has become known in Sufi literature as the "Day of *Alastī*", the day when God asked "*Alsatu bi rabbakum*" (Am I not your Lord?). The goal of every Muslim mystic (Sufi) thus came to recapture this experience of loving and ecstatic intimacy with the Lord of the world.⁷

Sufism in its essence is timeless, but its historical manifestation descends from the Holy Quran. The first revelation to the Prophet Muhammad was *Surah Iqra-96*:

⁵ *Hadith* (Tradition): Sayings and Practices of the Prophet Muhammad.

⁶ The Holy Quran, chapter seven, Surah 172, A. Yusaf Ali (translator), Merrylands, USA, 1983.

⁷ Eliade, Mercia, ed. "Encyclopedia of Religion", Vol. XIV, pp. 104-105

“Proclaim: (or Read) (6203)
in the name
of thy Lord and Cherisher
Who created
Created man, out of
A leech like clot
Proclaim! And thy Lord
Is Most Beautiful
He Who Taught
(The use of) the Pen
Taught man that
Which he knew not.
Nay, but man doth
Transgress all bounds,
In that he looketh
Upon himself as self sufficient
Very, to thy Lord
Is the return (of all) (6209).⁸

Some sources trace its origin to an incident that occurred to the Prophet Muhammad. One day whilst he was teaching the verse, “God created the Seven Heavens” (65.12), a special meaning of this verse was revealed to him. Ibn Abbas, the great purveyor of his traditions who was present, was later asked what the Prophet had said. Ibn Abbas answered, “If I were to tell

⁸ Holy Quran, p. *Surah Iqra*-96;

you, you would stone me to death".⁹ Through this allusion to inner meaning, a meaning that is not comprehensible to all, the inner path to God was opened. Even in modern research, the first comprehensive book on Sufism by German Professor, F.A.D. Tholuck, clearly spells out that "the Sufi doctrine was both generated and must be illustrated out of Muhammad's own mysticism."¹⁰

The companions of the Prophet were devout men who performed acts of meditation and constant remembrance of the Divine through its names and through repetition of the text of the Quran. After the death of the Prophet, this group spread and trained disciples. The name of the Sufi was at this time still unknown. Only at the beginning of the 8th century did these ascetics come to be known as Sufis.

Sufism assimilated concepts which preceded it in time. A leading authority on Islamic mysticism, R.A Nicholson, empirically proved that the Islamic ascetic movement can be explained without difficulties from its Islamic roots and that therefore, the original form of Sufism is a "native product of Islam itself." Since Islam grew out of a soil in which ancient oriental, Neoplatonic and Christian influences were strong, a number of

⁹ Hadith, quoted by Prof. A.W. Azhar in "Sufi Poetry with Particular Reference fo Rumi", Gandhi Peace Foundation Centre, New Delhi, 16 January 1999.

¹⁰ Quoted by A. Schimmel, "Mystical dimentions of Islam", p. 9 from Tholuck, F.A.D., "Ssufismus Sive Theosophia Persarum Penthiestica."

secondary influences may have worked upon Islam even in its earliest phase.¹¹ The criterion for the acceptance of earlier spiritual thinking into its ideology was one which recognised the Unity of Being. The Enneads of Plotinus, for instance, was the most complete metaphysical text to reach Islam from the Greeks; and Plotinus was known to Muslims as the ‘Shaikh’ or ‘spiritual master’. Teachings of the Pythagoreans, particularly Niomachus, were also absorbed, and the writings on the Cosmology and the Science of Nature received much attention. Hermetic writings of the 1st to 4th centuries A.D, preserving the inner dimension of the traditions of Egypt and Greece, were translated into Arabic. One treatise which appears repeatedly is the Poimandres, attributed to Hermes Trismegishis, the founder of Hermeticism. Hermes is traditionally related to Enoch, and appears in the Quran as the Prophet Idris.¹²

Zoroastrianism, the religion of ancient Iran, also played a role in influencing Sufism. The twin concepts “there is law in Nature, there is conflict in Nature” support the Sufi cosmological themes. Sufism spiritualized myths and legends from pre-Islamic times from Persian, Arabic and other sources, by expounding their inner significance. Some aspects of Buddhism were also assimilated in to Sufism. Prophets of the Old Testament

¹¹ Nicholson, R.A., “The Mystics of Islam”, p. 10.

¹² See Schimmel, A.’s Introduction in “Mystical Dimensions of Islam”.

and their proverbs were important to Islam in general, and to Sufism in particular. The Virgin Mary, the miracle of the virgin birth of Christ, and the Word of God as contained in the Quran, are equally important to Sufis, and the miracle of the Islam is the Quran.

Islam emphasizes Knowledge¹³. The very first *surah*, which has been discussed above, talks of it. Sufism begins with the “way” of Knowledge, but carries it to a higher form - Knowledge which ‘illuminates’. The way to illumination is often described as consisting of three attainments - the Knowledge of Certainty, the Eye of Certainty, the Truth of Certainty¹⁴.

¹³ “Knowledge” here is defined as an understanding of God who is living, intangible and formless within each human being. Sufis referred to this Knowledge as *truth*, Bhakti saints referred to it as *nam*, Hindus call it *gnana/jnanan*, Buddhists call it *enlightenment*, Christians call it *Word*, and so on. Contemporary guru, Maharaji, asserts that this Knowledge is different from intellectual knowledge, or the process of acquiring and learning new information. Any one, including illiterates, can have this Knowledge if they so desire it.

¹⁴ On the nature and meaning of Sufism, Abul Hasan Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Farisi is quoted in A. J Arberry’s “The Doctrine of the Sufis”: “The elements of Sufism are ten in number. The first is the isolation of unification; the second is the understanding of audation; the third is good fellowship; the fourth is preference of preferring; the fifth is yielding up of personal choice; the sixth is swiftness in ecstasy; the seventh is the revelation of the thoughts; the eighth is abundant journeying; the ninth is yielding up of yearning; the tenth is the refusal to hoard.” ‘Isolation of unification’ means that no thought of polytheism or atheism should corrupt the purity of the belief in one God. The ‘understanding of audition’ implies that one should listen in light of the mystical experience, not merely in light of learning. The ‘preference of preferring’ denotes that one should prefer that another should prefer, so that they may have the merit of preferring. ‘Swiftness of ecstasy’ is realized when the conscience is not void of that which arouses ecstasy, not filled with thoughts which prevent one from listening to the prompting of God. The ‘revelation of thought’ means that one should examine every thought that comes into one’s conscience, and follow what is of God, leaving alone what is not of God. ‘Abundant journeying’ is for the purpose of beholding the warnings that are to be found in heaven and earth, for God says, “Have they journeyed on in the land and seen what was the end of those before them?” and “Say journey yet on in the land, behold how the creation appeared”. The words ‘journey ye on in the land’ are explained as meaning with the light of gnosis, not with the darkness of agnosia, in order to cut the bonds (of materialism) and to train the soul. The ‘yielding up of earning’ is with a view to demanding of the soul that it should put its trust in God. The ‘refusal to hoard’ is only meant to apply to the condition of mystical experience, and not to the prescriptions of theology. When one of the members of the Bench died, leaving behind an adinar (explain), the Prophet said, concerning him, “Abrand for burning”.

A few decades before Sufism began to exercise influence on Indian society and religious life, organised Sufi movement reached its peak in the Islamic world, in the form of various *tariqa* (paths) or Sufi orders. These orders began to crystallize from the end of the 12th century, as each one of the Sufi centres (*khanqahs*) began to perpetuate the name of one master in particular, his spiritual ancestry, and focus on its own *tariqa* (Path) consisting of peculiar practices and rituals. A Sufi *silsila* (order) developed a lineage system of a continuous chain through which successive spiritual *khalifa* (heirs) traced their spiritual inheritance to the founder of that order.

The relationship with the spiritual head of a *silsila* and his disciples acquired an esoteric character. The disciples were linked to the *silsila* through various initiation rituals and vow of allegiance. Each *silsila* formulated its own institutional rules to regulate the day-to-day life of the disciples in the *khanqah*. The *murshid* (spiritual director) now came to be regarded as a *wali* (protégé of God). The *murids* (disciples) were obliged to surrender completely to the *murshid*, who in turn, bestowed the *tariqa*, its secret formulae (a phrase of patterned devotion), and symbols, on his *murid*.

The founders of various *silsila* accepted the ritual practices of Islamic law. The link between the orthodox Islam (*ulema*) and the *silsila* founders is also clear from the fact that many of the latter were professional jurists.

However these founders gave an esoteric orientation to the orthodox Islamic rituals, and introduced many innovations, particularly their religious practices, which were not always in consonance with the orthodox outlook. Though the *silsila* founders laid emphasis on strict adherence to Islamic law, many *silsila* later developed heterodox beliefs and practices.

The *silsila*, which became popular in Iran, Central Asia and Baghdad, played a significant role in the growth of Sufism in various parts of the Islamic world. Its popularity can be seen amongst the various orders which include the Suhrawardi founded by Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi (d.1234); the Qadri, formed by Shaikh Qadir Jilani (d.1166), the Muinuddin Chishti of Muinuddin Muinuddin Chishti (d.1236), and the Naqshbandi, first known as Khwajagan, but later came to be associated with the name of Bahauddin Naqshbandi (d.1389). The Sufis, who had received their training in these *silsilas*, began to establish branches in their countries, or in new countries, such as India. Gradually these branches became independent Sufi schools, with their own characteristics and tendencies.

Al Hujwiri (d.1088) was the earliest Sufi of eminence to settle in India. His tomb is in Lahore. Hujwiri was the author of *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, a famous Persian treatise on Sufism. However by and large, Sufi orders weren't introduced in India until after the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate at the

beginning of the 13th century. India not only provided a new pasture ground for the propagation of Sufi ideas, but also became the new home of the Islamic world, which had been conquered by the Mongols in the thirteenth century. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *khanqahs* sprang up in various parts of India, and Sufis built up a multitude of organisations and established themselves in their respective areas of influence. By the middle of the fourteenth century, the entire country, from Multan to Bengal and Punjab to Devgiri, were strongholds of Sufi influence. According to the observation of one early fourteenth century traveller, there were two thousand Sufi hospices and *khanqahs* in and around Delhi.

Sufism in India originally stemmed from Sufi thought and practice as it developed in various parts of the Islamic world, especially in Iran and Central Asia. However the Indian environment influenced its subsequent development more. Once the Sufi orders took root in different parts of the country, they followed their own phases of growth, stagnation and revival. These were determined largely by indigenous circumstances though the influence of developments in Sufism outside India cannot altogether be discounted as pertinent to tracking the history of the movement.

The conflict between the *ulemas* (the custodians of Islamic law) and the Sufis (the seekers of Gnosis) has been going on since time immemorial. The

ulema, representing the orthodox and uncompromising aspects of Islam were always with the State and against any new interpretation or adulteration with the established norms and traditions of Islam. The Sufis on the other hand represented the other side of the coin: a universalistic and humanist Islam, striving for spiritual purity. Its foundations were love and peace and *sulh-i-kul* (peace with all). Unlike the *ulema*, the Sufis emphasized more on ends than on means. It was the Prophet's life that inspired them. The gentleness, contemplative solitude and universal tolerance of the Prophet are reflected in Sufi attitudes. Sufism is the endearing and enduring face of Islam.

The Prophet had explained what one had to do with this world. Poverty was made respectable, austerity desirable. The poor and the dispossessed could thus identify with Sufi values. In rejection of the world, the Sufis were gaining it. That is why the Sufis are still respected and remembered. Political history is full of the rise and fall of empires. Dynasties have been set up and pulled down. Nizamuddin himself witnessed the reign of seven kings.¹⁵ But the continuity and the survival of the mystic thoughts and practices can be traced in the *dargahs* of several Sufi saints where people can be seen in

¹⁵ According to Professor Nisar Ahmad Faruqui, 14 kings ruled during his life and 11 when he shifted to Delhi. Introduction to the translated *Fawaid-ul-Fuad* into Urdu by Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sani, Urdu Academy, Delhi, p144.

queues, waiting to pay their homage to these spiritual Sultans who still rule the hearts of many.

While the *ulema* were engrossed in advocating narrow sectarianism and religious exclusives on the basis of religion and race, the Sufis were preaching the gospels of humanitarianism, brotherhood, humility, piety and equality. The attitude of the Sufi saint towards society and state was in sharp contrast to that of the Muslim governing classes and the orthodox sections of the theologians. Greater dynamism, better appreciation of other's point of view, and the desire to remove the contradictions between static theology and the rapidly changing conditions of life characterize their approach to all matters. The *khanqahs* emerged as the centres of cultural synthesis where ideas were freely exchanged, and a common medium for this exchange was evolved. The central point of these religious leaders was their concept of religion that also constituted a discourse on society and state. When asked to explain the highest form of religious devotion, Shaikh Muinuddin Hasan Muinuddin Chishti exclaimed, "It is nothing but feeding the hungry, providing clothes to the naked and helping those in distress".¹⁶

Sufism, unlike orthodox Sunni creedal belief, represented a universalistic, assimilative and syncretistic dimension of Islam and

¹⁶ Amir Khurd, "Siyar-ul-Auliya", p.185

appropriated many practices of indigenous religious belief in the process of penetrating into Iran and Central Asia. It evolved itself into a distinct organized spiritual movement just immediately before entering into the Indian sub-continent. Here the author reviews some key Sufi leaders of the pioneering Chishti order of Muinuddin Chishti, who brought Sufism to India, surveying the personalities of Chishti's spiritual successors, in understanding their role in putting the afore mentioned doctrines in to practice. Through examining the lives of Sufi saints, we gain a deeper insight in to the life and times of the everyday people living in the medieval era¹⁷.

Imam Al-Ghazali

"Practice or 'mujaheda' is the first important and indispensable act on the path of spiritual ascendancy and not mere theological knowledge as imported by the theologians (ulema) " – Al-Ghazali

The effort of historians in legitimizing Sufism's place in Islam culminates in the work of one man whose contribution to the Islamic

¹⁷ For detail, see E.H. Carr's article '*Society and Individual*' in "What is History" in which he says "The facts about history are indeed facts about individuals, but not about actions of individuals performed in isolation, and not about the motives, real or imaginary, from which individuals suppose themselves to have acted. They are the facts about the revelations of individuals to one another in society, and about social forces which produce from the actions of individuals resulting often at various with, and sometimes opposite to, the results which they themselves intended".

religious sciences ranges far beyond mysticism. Al-Ghazali of Iran played a key role in the history of Islam and Sufism, his unique efforts during the middle ages well documented. Ghazali's experiments with truth greatly influenced the biographies and holy missions of the Indian Sufi saints. A knowing about Ghazali provides immense help in appreciating the magnitude and value of the humanitarian service and inspiration rendered by these great saints to the people of India.

Al-Ghazali was born near Tus in 1058. He originally trained in law (*fiqh*), but excelled in theology and ultimately in Arabic philosophy, exemplified by the Neoplatonism of al-Farabi and Ibn Sina (Avicenna). A recurring theme of Al-Ghazali's work is the relationship between reason and revelation. Al-Ghazali's fascination with philosophical logic is manifested in many of his works, as he was convinced that philosophy should and could contribute substantially to Muslim understanding of the law of theology.¹⁸ It was the excesses of philosophy that he rallied against in his *Tahafut-al-Fatasifah* (The Incoherence of Philosophers), not against philosophical reasoning per se. Al-Ghazali's reputed work *Keemia-u-Saadat* (The Alchemy of Happiness) is a scholarly masterpiece on the cult and esoteric experiences of Sufism. A rationalist at heart he dived deep into the mystical

¹⁸ Eliad, M., Encyclopaedia of Religion, Vol. 14.

sea underlying the ‘spirit’ of the Holy Quran.¹⁹ His most renowned work, *Ihya-ul-Uloom-ud-din* (the Revival of Spiritual Science) is a treasury of Sufi principles, practices and characteristics, subsequently followed by all great Sufi dervishes.

As author of these historically important masterpieces, Imam Al-Ghazali positioned himself as one of the greatest Sufis, who synthesized various aspects of moral, metaphysical, and mystical systems, reconciling Sufism with Islamic orthodoxy and thus proving “a Muslim’s life of devotion to one God could not be lived perfectly, save by following the Sufi way”. He spent 10 years of his life carrying out practical experiments before writing works which proved his spiritual experiences, ultimately creating a veritable encyclopaedia in the form of “*Ihya-ul-Uloom*”, four extensive volumes in Arabic.

Like all prophets, saints and religious reformers, Al-Ghazali first practiced what he preached. On his return home he passed the remainder of his life in solitude, worship and writing on spiritual matters. As he was passing the tomb of Hazrat Ibrahim Adham, he resolved to never visit the court of a king, to never accept a present from a ruler or rich man, and never

¹⁹ Ibid.

to indulge in discussion with anybody. These three important oaths were subsequently undertaken by all great Sufi dervishes.

Khwaja Hasan Muinuddin Chishti

"The most superior kind of worship is to assist the helpless and to feed the hungry. All those possessing the following three virtues are friends of God; munificence like an ocean, kindness like sunshine and humility like the earth".²⁰

- Khwaja Hasan Muinuddin Chishti

Khwaja Hasan Muinuddin Chishti, founder of the Chishti order of India, was born c. 1141 in Sijistan. During his adolescence his father died leaving a legacy of a grinding mill and orchard. The sack of Sijistan at the hands of the Ghurid Turks turned his mind inward and he developed strong mystic tendencies. He distributed all his assets and begun an itinerant existence. He met with Khwaja Usman and joined Usman's circle of disciples. Later on he undertook journeys and came into contact with eminent saints and scholars,²¹ all of whom were destined to exercise great influence on contemporary religious thought. He visited most of the great cultural centres of the day, and acquainted himself with almost every

²⁰ Schimmel, A., "Mystic Dimention of Islam", p.345.

²¹ Such as Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani, Shaikh Najmuddin Kubra, Shaikh Majibuddin Abd al-Kahir Suhrawardi, Shaikh Abu said Tabrizi, and Shaikh Abdul Wahid Ghaznawi to name a few.

important trend of Muslim religious life in the middle ages. He reached Delhi in 1193.²² On his way to Ajmer he briefly stayed in Lahore where he meditated at the tomb of Shaikh Ali Hujwiri. He reached Ajmer before the Ghurids conquered it, and lay the foundations of the Chishti order and shaped its principles.

Muinuddin Chishti was the embodiment of Sufi virtues, and was famous for his outstanding spiritual achievements. He was the *Khalifa*²³ of Khwaja Usman Harwani, enrolled as Harwani's disciple, and served him for twenty years. Muinuddin Chishti was a significant player in the preaching of and proliferation of Islam in India, through peaceful missions and unparalleled forbearance. He brought the message of 'Universal Love and Peace' and paved the way for the subsequent procession of Muslim saints, who peacefully spread the ideology of Islam in this country without compulsion or arrogance, in the true spirit of the Holy Quran. "Let there be no compulsion in religion. Will thought compel men to become believers?" No soul can believe but by the persuasion of God".²⁴ Muinuddin Chishti followed this dictum strictly throughout his mission.

²² Sharif, Z.U, "The Life and Teachings of Khwaja Muinuddin Hasan Muinuddin Chishti".

²³ The spiritual successor of a Sufi saint is known as *Khalifa*.

²⁴ Holy Quran.

Prior to his arrival in India, Muslims were a negligible minority, but his piety and sympathetic teachings made a profound impression upon all he came across. "The most powerful attraction of Islam in India has been its brotherhood which recognized the equality of all its members".²⁵ Arnold rightly observes, "It is this absence of class prejudice which constitutes the real strength of Islam in India, and enables it to win so many converts from Hinduism".²⁶

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Khwaja Qutbuddin Bhakhtiyar Kaki

"A Sufi must talk and sleep as little as possible to avoid all sorts of worthless entanglements".

- *Qutbuddin Bhakhtiyar Kaki*

Khwaja Qutbuddin Bhakhtiyar Kaki was born in 1171 A.D in a town called Aush, or Awash in Transoxania. He was a born saint, and had the honour of being the first spiritual successor of Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer. Khwaja Qutbuddin's original name was "Bhakhtiyar", but his *laqab* (title) was Qutbuddin. The additional suffix of 'Kaki' was attributed to him by virtue of a miracle that emanated from him at a later stage of his life in

²⁵ Prasad, Dr. Ishwar, "Short History of Muslim Rule in India", p13.

²⁶ Arnold, Sir Thomas, "The Preaching of Islam."

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Delhi. Popularly, he is also known as “Khwaja Kaki” and “Hazrat Qutab Sahed”.

When Qutbuddin arrived in Delhi, Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish warmly welcomed him and requested him to stay in Delhi. In the beginning, the request was declined and the Khwaja preferred to stay in Kilukhari, near the Jumna. After a period, he agreed to the Sultan’s request. Twice weekly he was visited by eminent people of Delhi, and in the true Sufi spirit, every visitor was treated equally and given the same respects. Even the Sultan would wait upon him order to receive his spiritual blessings and guidance. Later on, the Sultan became a regular and dutiful disciple of Qutbuddin.

Qutbuddin wrote to Muinuddin Chishti requesting permission to visit him at Ajmer, a request which was not granted. Instead, Muinuddin Chishti ordered him to stay in Delhi. Qutbuddin’s task in Delhi was particularly challenging. He took on the role of promoting the Chishti order amongst the most eminent and prestigious Muslim divines of the Islamic world, many of whom were based in Delhi.

Forty days before the demise of his great *Pir-o-Mushid*, he appointed Qutbuddin as his recognized *Khalifa* at a formal ceremony in Ajmer, and he was given the responsibility to carry on the mission of the ‘*Chishti Order*’ of Sufism in India, his headquarters in Delhi. Qutbuddin continually advised

his disciples to assist people who were needy without heeding the result. The death of Qutbuddin is another story of great importance in the history of Sufism. Like his predecessors, Qutbuddin was also very fond of *Sama* (Qawwali) and used to hold *Sama Mahfils* often at his place or join such *Mahfils* sometimes at his close friend's Qazi Hamiduddin Nagauri. The story goes that he took part in a sama ritual in the *Khanqah* of Shaikh Ali Sijzi. Taken to his house, Qutbuddin ordered the verse to be repeated each time he regained consciousness, which happened to occur at the time of obligatory prayers. He then lapsed back into an ecstatic state each time. On the fifth night he died and was buried at Mahrauli, approximately eleven miles from Delhi, at a place he himself had chosen.

Khwaja Fariduddin Gang Shakar

“Always keep the doors of peace open in a war. Protect religion through knowledge.” - Khwaja Fariduddin Gang Shakar

One of the most distinguished Muslim mystics of India, known as Baba Farid, was born in 1175 at Kahtwal, a town near Multan, into a family who traced their descent from the Caliph Umar²⁷. Baba Farid's first teacher and

²⁷ Rizvi, S.A.A. says that “After Muhammad's death the *muhajirs* and *ansars* at Madina elected Abu Bakra as Caliph (Arabic *khalif* ‘successor’). Umar was the second Caliph.

one of the most influential people in his life, was his mother, moulding his thoughts and actions. He received spiritual benedictions from both Kaki and Muinuddin Chishti.

At the age of 18, Farid settled in Multan to undertake further studies and joined a seminary at the mosque of Maulana Minhajuddin Tirmizi. There he met Kaki, and asked Kaki if he could become his disciple. Baba was initiated into the distinguished group of Sufis residing in the Qutbuddin's *Jamat khana*. The maintenance of Fariduddin's *khanqah* was difficult since the Shaikh relied exclusively upon gifts (*futuh*), and the *khanqah* did not own or cultivate land from which the *dervishes* drew their living.

Fariduddin composed poetry in the local dialect helping disseminate Sufi teachings into popular songs and influencing the population, particularly the women, who used to bring these simple verses while doing their daily work"²⁸

After the death of Qutbuddin, the responsibility of India's spiritual leadership within the Chishti order fell upon the shoulders of Farid. Farid undertook extensive tours over 18 years in Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Syria and

²⁸ Schimmel, A, "Mystical Dimensions of Islam", p.348.

several other places. Farid himself in his own work, *Rahat ul-Quloob*, has discussed the experiences and explorations during the time of these tours.

Credit goes to Farid for giving a national status to the Muinuddin Chishti order, and training a number of eminent disciples – Shaikh Jamaluddin of Hansi, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi, and Shaikh Alauddin Sabir of Kalyar. By mingling personally with the ‘man on the street’ he transformed the Muinuddin Chishti order, which was until then limited in its sphere of influence, to a powerful movement of spiritual culture for the masses. The impact of his teachings is discernible in the sacred book of the Sikhs, the *Guru Granth*, where his teachings are respectfully quoted.

People from all backgrounds and social milieus listened to Farid – Hindus, Muslims, villagers, and townsfolk, to the point that his Jamatkhana grew into a veritable centre for cultural intercourse between these different social groups. Some early sentences of Hindawi²⁹ were spoken at his *Jamat khana*. He also contributed to the development of a few local dialects of the Punjab region, recommending religious exercises in the Punjabi language.

Throughout his long life, Farid was devoted to the moral and spiritual cultivation of the individual. It is unfortunate that no detailed accounts of his

²⁹ Hindawi at this juncture in time was a generic term, referring to the indigenous dialects of northern India. For details see “A History of Sufism in India” p126.

conversations were ever prepared, though this individual's writings provide many clues to his personality.

Hazrat Khwaja Alauddin Sabir

It is unfortunate that early sources do not refer to Shaikh Alauddin Ali Ahmad Sabir, the founder of the Sabiri branch of the Muinuddin Chishti order. However, the tomb of Sabir in Kalyar, near Roorkee in the Saharanpur district (now western Uttar Pradesh), is famous amongst his devotees. When the author visited Kalyar Sharif in the last week of June 1999, he found a large number of devotees assembled there. Though in the beginning it did not form part of the original project, after studying Sabir and visiting his tomb at Kalyar, it was difficult to ignore this great saint – the most popular saint among devotees, after Muinuddin Chishti.

Sabir of Kalyar³⁰ is popularly known as Hazrat Sabir Saheb, or Hazrat Alauddin Saheb. An extraordinary saint, he had peculiar, one-off, but highly remarkable Sufi characteristics. Apart from the large number of *khalifas* who worked for his mission in varying locations around India, Baba Farid chose three leading *khalifas*, Jamaluddin Hansri, Alauddin Sabir, and Nizamuddin

³⁰ "Haqeeat-e-Gulzar Sabiri" by Shah Mohammed Sabiri, "Jamal-e-Sabir Kalyari" by Maulana Wahid Ahmad Masood, and "Hayat-e-Sabir Kalyar" by Mansoor Ali Sabri, are the few available reliable sources about him.

Auliya, to propagate his teachings. His missionary works flourished through two newly formed *silsilas* – “Sabiria” and “Nizamia”. The first was headed by Sabir, and the second by Nizamuddin.

Sabir can be ranked as the third spiritual successor of Muinuddin Chishti, by virtue of the priority of his initiation and *Khilafat* over Nizamuddin Auliya in the Muinuddin Chishti order. After the demise of Sabir, many distinguished *Khalifas* of his Sabiria *silsila* also rendered meritorious services to the cause of the Order, throughout India and abroad.

Sabir was greatly influenced by his mother, who was no ordinary woman as the sister of the Sufi saint Baba Farid. Sabir excelled in his Islamic studies and literature, as well as spiritual training. He undertook fasting and performed *mujahedas*, and finished his literary course in three years, a course which normally took six years to complete. Baba Farid initiated him as a *murid* and then appointed him as spiritual leader of Kalyar, where at the time, spiritual values were considered to be deteriorating.

Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya

“The first lesson of Sufism was not related to prayers or organised rituals, but began with the mastery of the maxim: ‘Whatever you do not like to be done to yourself, do not wish it to happen to others; wish for yourself what you wish others also’”. - Nizamuddin Auliya

Nizamuddin Auliya was born in 1238 in Badaun, a district in western Uttar Pradesh. He lost his father at a very early age. His mother was pious and intelligent woman, and endured with great piety and foresight, she paid special attention to her child's education.

In Delhi, Nizamuddin lived in close proximity to Najibuddin Mutawakkal, a brother of Farid. Nizamuddin took advantage of his knowledge and guidance as a pupil to learn more about Farid. He decided to go to Ajodhan and meet the saint. During this period, Nizamuddin was offered and inclined to take up the post of a *Qazi* (judge) by virtue of his distinguished qualifications which he declined under the influence of Najibuuddin.

While conferring *Khalifat* upon Nizamuddin, Farid gave him the instructions for the success of his vocation as a Sufi.³¹ He followed them dutifully throughout his life. Daily after the three morning prayers, he would sit in his *Jamaatkhana* to impart religious teachings to the aspirants with the

³¹ "Always keep yourself busy with mujahedas. Idleness is the devil's workshop. In own way of life, fasting achieves half of success and the remaining half is acquired by namaz, hajj and other religious practices. Educate yourself and your disciples. Avoid all sinful acts. Make every possible effort to correct your own faults before reforming others. Whatever you have heard from me, remember it and propagate it widely. If you have to go in to seclusion, then do it in a mosque where namaz is conducted in the congregation. Make your Nafs idle and consider the world as absent and immaterial. Give up avarice and all the desires of the world. Your privacy or seclusion must occupy you in the devotion to God. If in such seclusion, you are tired of bigger mujahedas, then try a smaller one. If you may be troubled by your Nafs, then please it with little respite or sleep. Whosoever comes to you, shower your blessings and favours upon him". "Siyar-ul-Auliya", p117.

Ulema and Sufis of his group. Many poor and needy from the city visited his *Khanqah*, where everyone was provided with food, money and clothing. It was his strict standing order that everything in the *Khanqah*'s kitchen must be given away to the poor and that nothing should be stored for the next day.

In addition to his superior spiritual attainment, Nizamuddin was a most distinguished scholar and an administrative genius. He founded *Khanqahs* on the line of Ghaus-ul-Azam Shaikh Abdul Qadar Jilani of Baghdad throughout India, and sent his trained *Khalifas* to impart lessons in 'Truth' and 'Love' to many of the remote parts of the country, especially to its unexplored southern regions. These Sufi ambassadors of love and peace were both successful and brilliant in the execution of their missionary duties. In Delhi itself, Nizamuddin's own *Khanqah* became the fountainhead of "Divine Wisdom and Knowledge", of religious learning, and for giving moral and social training for 50 years. It attracting thousands of aspirants and scholars from both India and abroad.

Nasiruddin Mahmood Chiragh-i-Delhi

As can be seen, Nizamuddin Auliya and his predecessors built up a mighty spiritual organisation in India. Nasiruddin, the last recognized

Khalifa of the Order, played his role brilliantly under the unfriendly circumstances of the Tughlaq period.

Nasiruddin renounced the world at the age of 25 and began *mujaheda* against *Nafs* in the company of a dervish with whom he is reported to have roamed about the surrounding mountains and jungles of Avadh for eight years. During this period he observed fasting and lived on herbs.

After his initiation, Nasiruddin devoted all his time to his spiritual training, and in a true ascetic fashion, would deny food and water for days on end. Sometimes he took lime-juice when struck with intense thirst. According to Siyar-ul-Auliya, Nasiruddin went to stay with his mother in Avadh but due to the ever increasing numbers of admirers, he did not get privacy or freedom to execute his devotional duties. He petitioned to Mahbood Elahi, through Amir Khusrau, for permission to seek seclusion in the jungle. However the saint sent him the following instructions, "You must stay among the people of God and suffer their intrusion with patience and tolerance. You will be rewarded for this sacrifice. There are different people suitable for different tasks. I therefore instruct some of my mureeds to observe silence and others to close their door to the world. Some are advised to increase the number of their mureeds, whilst others are ordered to stay among the worldly people, tolerate their persecution and deal with them

affectionately because this has been the way of great prophets and saints.”³²

On receipt of the instructions as above, Nasiruddin abandoned the idea of retreating into the jungle, and continued his *riyazaat* (strivings) in the midst of the demanding populous.

There are three or four stories associated with the title of the *Chiragh* (lamp) of Delhi, the most important among them the one given by Makhdoom Jahanian Syed Jalaluddin of Bokhara (a great Sufi and scholar). Nasiruddin kept up the tradition of his *silsila* honourably after the demise of his *Pir-o-Murshid*, and spread the teachings of his mission throughout a large part of India. His reputation as a great scholar and spiritualist of his time reached as far as Iraq, Arabia, Egypt and Iran. When Jalaluddin of Bokhara went to Mecca for his education under Shaikh Imam Abdulla Rafayee and stayed with him, the latter told him, “Although many of the leading *Mashaikh* (Sufis) of Delhi are no more, yet, by their blessings Khawja Nasiruddin Mahmood is keeping up the noble traditions of those great saints most honourably”.³³ On hearing this, Jalaluddin became eager to meet such a great personality, and traveled from Mecca to Delhi to do so. Jalaluddin considered Nasiruddin a brightly shining *Chiragh* of Delhi. This

³² Nizami, K.A.; “Life and Times of Nasiruddin Chiragh-I-Delhi”, p.51.

³³ For detail see Jama-ul-Ulum (Urdu translation), particularly pp281-282.

was a great tribute from a great saint, and it became the popular title of Nasiruddin since that day.

Despite Nasiruddin's struggle with the State, the city continued to develop as a great centre of Islamic learning and Sufism. Thousands of aspirants and scholars continued to be drawn to it from many places, as it was known for an unsurpassable quality of education and wisdom for spiritual development.

Though Nasiruddin endeavoured to live up to the traditions of his master Nizamuddin, he lacked his master's optimism, geniality and cheerfulness. There is evidently an undercurrent of pessimism, melancholy and resignation in his thought and conversations, as articulated in his famous *malfuz* text *Khair-ul-Majalis*. In spite of his heavy daily programme³⁴, fragile health and people's worries, which he took on board, Nizamuddin persevered with optimism and a cheerful heart, but Nasiruddin fought with pessimism and a broken spirit. He did not marry, and modified his appetites in a way that not a trace of conflict could be detected in his life. He also passed his life in celibacy, but the efforts to control sexual desire were so great that it brought him to the verge of death.³⁵ In conversations with Nizamuddin, there is remarkable restraint, confidence and genial optimism.

³⁴ See *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* for details of his daily routine.

³⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p241.

However a reader of Nasiruddin's conversations find an atmosphere of melancholy that pervades his work. It should be noted however that Nizamuddin lived during the reign of Alauddin Khalji, an age of expanding imperialism, hope and buoyancy, but Nasiruddin's time was during Muhammad bin Tughluq's rule, an age of relative decay and pessimism. The spirits of these saints were undoubtedly coloured by the atmosphere around them, and what appears to be a shortcoming in Nasiruddin's character is likely no more than a shortcoming of his time.

Nasiruddin's far-sighted vision judged the future consequences of these shortcomings of the new generation of *dervishes*, which prompted him to decide against appointing a spiritual successor to take his place at the time of his demise. Due to the prevailing conditions at Delhi, he believed that no *dervish* would be capable of carrying on the responsibility and integrity of his silsila . He therefore willed that the sacred Tabarrukart of the silsila should be buried with him. After his death, the Chishti *Silsila*, which had a highly integrated central structure, lost its former position and provincial *khanqahs* were set up in provincial towns, independent of all central control. Old ideologies and traditions were discarded.

It can be seen that the central organisation of the pioneering Chishti *silsila* nurtured the spiritual and cultural developments of its adherents. The successors of Chishti, as above, worked in remote parts of the country, their eyes however always fixed for guidance towards their epicentres of Ajmer, Ajodhan and Delhi, considering themselves to be under one central organisation. It was against the tradition of their creed to have any relations whatsoever with kings, their courtiers or the *Ulema*. To be a ‘kept’ *dervish* was an insult to their creed and religious sentiments. For their upkeep either they tilled a few *bighas* of land, or contented themselves with unsolicited gifts. If any of the *Khalifa* were found to be partial towards government services or rewards, his ‘*Khilafatnama*’ was at once confiscated. After the death of Nasiruddin, these two basic principles became a thing of the past. The central organisation was shattered and new *Khanqahs* were established in provincial centres. Many of the *silsilas* of the younger generation joined hands with ruling power and spent much of their time in frivolous engagements contrary to Baba Farid’s warning, “If you wish to prosper in your spiritual life, then never pay any attention towards the progeny of kings”. The implications of ignoring Farid’s advice contributed to the disintegration of its organizational structure.

What happened to Sufism after the disappearance of the visionary Chishtis? The disciples spread the message of Sufism in different pockets under different leaders. Some of them, like Burahnuddin Gharib and Gesu Daraz, were able to spread this message in their area (Deccan region). They took Sufism of the Chishti brand to South India, and like Nizamuddin and his predecessors, these saints were respected and revered, but only in their regions. The Chishti *dargahs*, although attracting a large number of devotees, these people came mainly from the disciple's areas. This shows the decentralization of the Chishti order after Nasiruddin, hence the State did not feel as threatened by the popularity of the Sufism.

Due to this decentralization, the recorded discourses of the saints, the *mafuzaat*, played an even more important role in spreading their message. The following chapter reviews the birth and importance of these texts for Sufism during the Sultanate period, and the instrumental role it played in ensuring the continuation of Sufi principles beyond the collapse of the first Chishti period.

2. MALFUZ LITERATURE

Malfuz literature, the recorded discourses of Sufi saints, not only gave an insight into the socio-economic situation of the period, but was crucial to ensuring the continuation of Sufi influence after the fourteenth century. As we have seen, the formation of Sufism in India was a process that took centuries, and its origin is available to us only through a series of reconstructions. From the time of Hujwiri¹ (d.1074), the northwestern cities of India were home to a number of Sufis, though Hujwiri is one of the few whose teachings are accessible to us in written form. By the 12th century, Sufism had become a universal aspect of Islamic social life, whose influence had not only spread widely among Muslims, but to a large segment of the population, regardless of religion or caste. In the words of Professor K.A Nizami, Sufism gave meaning and mission to the religious feeling and beliefs of a wide cross-section of society in India and other Islamic countries². It was during this period that the Chishti order first established itself in India.

Although later authorities such as Jami³ (d.1492) told stories of the early Sufis of Chishti, the first Chishti themselves did not engage in writing, nor do their contemporaries tell us anything about their lives. Even in the case of

¹ Abul Hasan Ali bin Usma bin Ali al-Ghazali al-Jullabi al-Hujwiri was the author of ten works of which only *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* has been accessible in written form. Nicholson declares *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* to be “the oldest Persian treatise of Sufism”. Shaikh Ali Hujwiri, popularly known as Data Ganj Bakhsh, lies buried at Lahore. His object in this book is to set forth a complete system of Sufism. His attitude throughout is that of a teacher. His discussion of mystical problems and controversies is enlivened by many illustrations drawn from his personal experience.

² K.A. Nizami, “On History and Historians of Medieval India”, p. 163

³ Abul Makarim bin Alaul Mulk Jami authored *Khulasat al-Maqamat*. Written in 1436 – 1437, it is a biography of a famous saint Shaikh Ahmadi Jam (d.1142). It is divided into 10 babs and one fasl.

Muinuddin Chishti who is identified as the founder of the Indian Chishti order, we don't come across anything written about him in contemporary writings of his age. To find any connected written account of Chishti, we must refer to the 14th century⁴, when the Chishti order suddenly revealed itself in a full-bloom literary tradition in Persian.

The explosion of Sufi literary activity in India in the 13th and 14th centuries had a powerful formative effect on Indian Sufism. The widespread *Suhrawardi* order, which originated in Baghdad, boasted outstanding mystical writers in its Indian branch, such as Hamiduddin Nagori (d.1244), who wrote sophisticated meditations on the 99 names of God and on mystical love. While the Chishti did not at first express themselves in writing, they eventually produced a more sustained and far reaching literary tradition than any other Indian Sufi order.

Neither Muinuddin Chishti, nor his two main successors, Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki and Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar, wrote any books. The first generation of the Indian Chishti continued to place emphasis on oral instruction. But in the following generation, the Chishti master Nizamuddin Auliya had such a profound effect on his contemporaries that a new genre of literature, the *malfuz*⁵, emerged to embody his teachings.

⁴ Amir Hasan Sijzi decided to record the conversation of his master in 1307 A.D.

⁵ "The discourse delivered by a leading Sufi to a select gathering of disciples and visitors gave rise to a distinctive genre of Persian literature. This was known as *Malfuzaat*, a conversation of discourse that also contained didactic poetry, anecdotes and apothegms". S.A.A. Rizvi, in History of Sufism in India Vol. One.

The birth of such a distinct type of mystic writing, the *malfuz*, is one of the most important contributions to Persian language and literature from the fertile literary soil of Delhi. The term ‘*malfuz*’ derived from a word “*lafz*” meaning “word”. ‘*Malfuzaat*’ – the term that defines Sufi mystic literature – is its plural form and means ‘conversation of saints’. *Malfuz* writing is arguably the pinnacle of literary achievement in medieval India. Though works of a similar nature were compiled outside India⁶, the credit must go to a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, Amir Hasan Sijzi, for giving it shape and popularizing it in religious groups throughout the country. The oral teachings of the Chishtis, as revealed in the oral discourses of *malfuz* literature, took on a canonical textual form that soon became the authoritative genre both for members of the order and their followers. The transition from oral to written form was reflected in diverse literary styles, such as *maktubaat*, *siyar-ul-auliya*, and *malfuzaat*.

In theory, the *malfuzaat* was as close as one could get in words to the actual presence of the Sufi master. Although the authors of *malfuz* did not actually take dictation at the time when the master was speaking, they typically endeavoured to record the talks from memory as soon as the daily session by

⁶ For example: i) *Halat-o-Sukhanan-I-Shaikh Abu Said Fazlullah b. Abil Khair-al-Maihani Muhammad b. Abu Rauh Latfullah* (d.1145)
ii) *Asrar-ut-Tauhid fi Maqamat-I-Shaikh Abi Said* by Muhammad b. Munawwar (d.1178).
iii) *Malfuzaat-i-Najmuddin Kubra* (d.1221).

Source: K.A. Nizami, On History and Historians of Medieval India, p. 163.

their masters was over. Nonetheless, in the act of rewriting the master's words, the writer inevitably exercised some kind of selection and interpretation, and so produced a narrative structure depicting the Sufi teaching from a particular point of view. This combination of oral transmission and narrative recasting naturally had precedents in Sufi tradition. Usually the discourses were on an unplanned basis, being products of the response of questions raised by those gathered around the Sufi saints. Even in one assembly one can see the change of topics, customized for its appeal and relevance depending upon the audience. For example, in one of Nizamuddin Auliya's assemblies, the conversations switched from music (*sama*) and ecstasy (*wajad*) to Shihabuddin Suhrawardi, a Sufi who was opposed to music for the purposes of spiritual realisation. Auliya's conversation then changed to the topic of saints' tombs at Lahore, then pioneering Sufi, Al-Hujwiri. The discourse included conversations about poetry and finally ended with a lecture on the variations of the Morning Prayer, which he said at the direction of Shaikh ul-Islam Fariduddin.⁷ The nature of questions asked are wide-ranging and are interesting clues as to the socio-economic background of the people who visited the Sufi hospices. The questions were often related to religious, economic or social issues. On Sunday the 21st of Dhul-ul-Hijja, Auliya began to talk about reciting the Quran and the

⁷ As cited by Lawrence in "Fawa'id-ul-Fuad", p.119-120.

deeper perception of Truth⁸ that comes from reading and chanting it. The conversation then turned to almsgiving⁹ and the five conditions related to this, followed by Abu Abakr Siddiq's story on emphasizing the legalities of almsgiving. The master commented on the meaning of forgiveness and redeeming the cost of a bad purchase, then the merits of feeding others came into the discussion. Auliya quoted a saint that "one *diram* spent for food set before a friend is better than twenty *diram* expended on alms". It was followed by the conversation about the commercial transactions of Sufis.¹⁰ In the above records of the two assemblies several topics have been covered, and it can be seen that some of them do not have a direct relation to the preceding anecdote. This indicated that the saint was responding to a myriad of questions one by one and encouraging the audience to ask a wide range of questions. The discourses also included references to religious texts such as the Quran and Hadith, and the anecdotes and sayings of previous Sufis. On Sunday, the 17th of Jumada-al-ula 720 A.H, Amir Hasan Sijzi wrote two anecdotes about the nature Hadith.¹¹. They were intended to fulfill the religious, ethical, and personal needs of those who visited the *khanqahs*¹². It was not a hardcore religious sermon in the real

⁸ "Truth" in Sufism denotes the concept of a personal realization of God.

⁹ Almsgiving was the act of helping others in trouble by offering them food or money.

¹⁰ As cited by Lawrence in "Fawaaid-ul-Fuad", p.122-124

¹¹ For complete story about the above discussion see Lawrence's comments in "Fawaaid-ul-Fuad", p.341-2.

¹² Sufi institutions, which were essentially an 'open home' to the public, where people could listen to sermons, socialize, eat, and sleep if necessary.

sense of the word, rather public counsel based on spiritual matters and described in anecdotal form.

Once Sijzi was disturbed due to a problem related to his salary. When Nizamuddin Auliya, from whom nothing could be kept secret, realized this problem of Sijzi's, he narrated a story about a once-wealthy Brahman's response to coping with days of a poverty-ridden life. It was September 19, 1310 A.D (a Friday in the afternoon). The story goes like this:

"There was once an urban Brahman. Though he was very wealthy, the chief magistrate of that city fined him, seized all his possessions, and reduced him to poverty. The Brahman became destitute. He was hard pressed to make ends meet. One day he came across a friend. 'How are you?' asked the friend. 'Well and happy', replied the Brahman. 'How can you be happy, retorted the friend, 'since they have seized everything that you have possessed?' 'With me still,' replied the Brahman, 'is my sacred thread (zunnar)¹³'. On finishing the story, the master - may God remember him with favour - asked me. 'Did you understand the context of this story?' 'Yes', I replied, I did. 'For on hearing this story, I left an inner contentment. I realized that the master had told the story to calm the heart of this helpless creature. He added, "You should never experience distress on account of the interruption of your salary or the non-attainment of worldly goods. If the whole world passes you by, don't fret; you must maintain love of God all times."¹⁴

It was reported that not only the questioner but the entire audience benefited by the answer. This was the beauty of the masters of that period. Nizamuddin Auliya

¹³ Zunnar is a sacred thread wore by a twice born Hindu. A pious Hindu is born twice. The sacred thread ceremony is the mark and celebration of the second birth of a child. In the Anciet period Vaishyas were also entitled for this thread but with the time it was confined to the Brahamanas and Kshatriya. Now a days mostly Brahmans wear this thread.

¹⁴ Fawaaid-ul-Fuad, p.93.

always generalized his response to any questions, which is why people who came with problems, troubles, anxiety and a heavy heart, went back full of happiness, grace and feeling like a liberated person. It is interesting to note that those who visited the *khanqahs* did so with full confidence and rights. Like a child's expectations of its parents, those who sought counsel at the *khanqahs* did so with a natural expectation that the master would oblige them. Even today people go to *dargahs* with similar expectation. The following is a popular couplet which is heard in almost all *dargahs* of Sufi saints and sums up this notion succinctly:

Tere dar par aaya hoon	<i>I have come to your door</i>
Kutch kar ke jaoon gaa	<i>To do something before I leave</i>
Jholi bhar ke jaoon gaa ¹⁵ .	<i>To fill my sack before I leave</i>

In 1307, Sijzi decided to record what he had heard from his spiritual master Auliya. This was a historic decision, which introduced this new mystic literature¹⁶ known as *mafuzaat*. His collection, *Fawaaid-ul-Fawad*, was welcomed in spiritual circles and it became a *dastur* (guidebook) for those eager to experience the mystic journey. The importance of this book is demonstrated through Amir Khusrau's desire¹⁷ to give over all his works to

¹⁵ A popular *qawwali* which can be heard at most of the *dargahs* across the Indian sub-continent.

¹⁶ Mystic literature falls under the following broad categories:

- i) Works on mystic thought, practices and litanies;
- ii) "Mafuzaat", conversation of saints;
- iii) "Maktabaat", collections of letters;
- iv) Bibliographical accounts of saints – "siyar-ul-auliya".

¹⁷ "Amir Khusrau expressed the wish that all his works would have been from Hasan's pen and *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad* from his "Siyar-ul-Auliya" p.308.

Sijzi, in lieu of this work. The tradition established by Sijzi became an indispensable part of the Sufi practice, and was followed by the saints of Chishti, Suhrawardi, Naqshabandi and Firdausi. Later on, an enormous amount of *malfuz* literature appeared in India from “Uch to Maner, and from Delhi to Daulatbad”.¹⁸

There were two types of *malfuz* compilations. First, there were those collected by a descendant or disciple of the Sufi long after his death. These were based on the memory of the compilers, and are not considered reliable or authentic. The compilers of these *malfuzaat* also collected information from the master’s friends and relatives, and this information was also included in the *malfuzaat*. Since these authors were not present at the time of the sermons, the *malfuzaat* were compiled topic wise. The authors first decided what to write and then started collecting conversations accordingly. That is why this form of *malfuzaat* were generally divided into a brief biographical sketch of the Shaikh, his main teachings, miracles, and an account of the type of contemplation and ascetic exercises undertaken by the master. Such works were based on anecdotes which members of the Sufi’s family and his disciples remembered. Letters exchanged with important personalities may also have been

¹⁸ Nizami, K.A., “On History and Historians of Medieval India”, p.164, New Delhi, 1982.

incorporated. The flavor of this kind of literature was similar to those of Christian hagiological works¹⁹.

The *malfuzaat* of the second category are the most important and dependable. These consisted of discourses recorded soon after they were delivered by the *pir* (master). They are dated and on occasions revised by the Sufi masters themselves, who confirmed the accuracy of the statements. In *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*, each and every assembly has a date, day and year, and in some instances, the time of discourse is also noted, for example, in the following recording, Sijzi writes “Friday, the 28th of Dhul-Qada, A.H. 711. I obtained the benefit of Kissing his feet in … the Friday Congregational mosque in Kilogarhi. Before the time of the day prayer, conversation focused...”²⁰ He has recorded the conversation in an exact, accurate and systematic manner. The topic of the discussion changes depending on the demands and nature of those in the audience. This shows such sensitivity and flexibility on behalf of the saint. He exactly knew what, when and how to speak keeping in mind his audience, which is why some conversations are very basic and general, and some are highly philosophical. But overall, *malfuzaat* of the *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad* are, it seems, addressed to the lay followers.

¹⁹ S.A.A Rizvi, “A History of Sufism in India”, p.3.

²⁰ As cited by Lawrence in “Fawaaid-ul-Fuad”, p.137.

By comparison, though *Khair-ul-Majalis* does not contain dates, it has the flavour and touch of Nasiruddin Chirag-i-Delhi's *khanqah*. The *malfuzaat* of Nasiruddin is one of the most authentic. Like Auliya, Nasiruddin himself supervised Hamid Qalamdar's²¹ work regularly. On compilation of the first *juz* (fasciculus), Hamid showed it to Nasiruddin who read and approved it.²² Hamid had hardly completed seven *juz* before the Shaikh asked him about the progress he had made in compiling the conversations. The master exercised a significant amount of control over his *malfuzaat*, as he did not want the work to degenerate into a book of miracles or of adulations.²³ "Shaikh Nasiruddin", Hamid wrote, "has so broken his *nafs* (ego) that if I call him a Shaikh, he resents it; if I attribute a miracle to him, he gets angry."²⁴

This attests to the authenticity of the *malfuzaat* under discussion. Unlike authors of political chronicles, they did not have to prove a point to political authorities. The message of truth and love was the objective, the subject was the message of humanism, and the audience were the masses. Sufis were least

²¹ Hamid Qalamdar was the authorized compiler of Nasiruddin Chirag-I-Delhi's discourses, *Khair-ul-Majalis*.

²² *Khair-ul-Majalis* p.28

²³ See Prof. Nizami's Introduction to *Khair-ul-Majalis* in which he quotes several scholars of the Sultanate period: It appears that Shaikh Nasiruddin was very stiff in this matter. He did not want people to prepare inaccurate records of his conversations. He stopped a disciple from attempting this work (*Jawami-ul-Kalim*, p. 134). Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz one day told his audience: "Maulana Kamaluddin, nephew of the Shaikh (Nasiruddin) once presented before the Shaikh two *juz* of a *Malfuz* prepared by Hamid Qalandar. The Shaikh glanced through them and remarked: 'I have said different thing and Maulana Hamiduddin has recorded different thing'. So saying he threw away (the *malfuz*). " Maulana Kamaluddin submitted: "A *malfuz* has survived as the memory of Shaikh Nizamuddin. There should be one such (*malfuz*) of the Khwaja also". What can I do? I have no time to correct this (*Jawami-ul-Kalim*, p. 135). Some such things could have happened in the earlier stages of compilation but it is certain that the Shaikh ultimately undertook to supervise the work and made it as accurate a record of his conversations as was possible.

²⁴ Supplement to *Khair-ul-Majalis* p.289

bothered about the elite class. They seldom addressed their contemporary rulers. Unlike orthodox *ulema*, they did not seek to impress the ruling class. They did not indulge in controlling state authority through misinterpretations of the Quran and Hadith. Making people aware of their importance – the importance of being born a human - was the greatest task before them. Many individuals learnt that God resided everywhere including in one's own body, but too few realized this fact. It is widely believed that when an individual realizes this fact, they attain a sense of self-respect and inner satisfaction. It was in the *khanqahs* of Sufi saints where not only the principles of egalitarianism were taught, but those who listened to the teachings also experienced first hand these principles in practice. It is little wonder then why those who feared the *ulema*, chose to queue for hours to hear Sufi wisdom in the sphere of the *khanqahs*. These things can be clearly seen on the pages of *malfuzaat*.

As mentioned earlier, the *Fawaaid-ul-Faud* became the guidebook for both lay followers and mystics, and as a result, Sufism was transformed from being a tool for individual spiritual salvation and training, into a movement for mass spiritual culture. According to Muhammad Ghauthi Shattari, Nizamuddin Auliya sent 700 deputies (*khalifahs*) to different parts of the country.²⁵ As a result, *khanqahs* were built throughout many states, and as such, a common lingua franca was adopted for the purpose of communicating ideas, which

²⁵ Quoted by B.B. Lawrence from *Gulzar-I-Akbari* of Muhammad Ghauthi Shattari. P.54.

brought about significant change in the nature of mystic literature. It shifted the focus of mystic interest from the abstract thought to concrete conditions of life and discipline. Instead of expounding the lofty principles of mysticism announced by great theorists, the Sufi illustrated through his action and words, the accumulated wisdom of mystic tradition. Auliya would say that what the *ulema* proclaim through speech, the Sufi express through behaviour. On the subject of pilgrims and pilgrimages, Auliya asserted that pilgrims unnecessarily gloated about their pilgrimages, and that this was not proper. He commented that altruistic service to others was more necessary and important than conspicuous and self-centred pilgrimages. He made a final brief comment about good conduct, “Some one once wrote a poem on ten traditions, five of which related to the head, five to the rest of the body. He concluded the poem with a beautiful couplet that goes like this:²⁶

*Ten points in just two lines you have packed.
But these are words, while you should act!*²⁷

The Sufi enhanced the impact of his teachings through frequent recourse of self-scrutiny and criticism. He would tend to find something wrong with himself even when others intended to do wrong to him.

What are the historical contexts that led to the emergence of *malfuz* literature in the early 14th century India? The answer to this question lies in a

²⁶ As cited by Lawrence in “*Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*”, p.195.

²⁷ Translation of the original text has been taken from Lawrence in “*Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*”, p.195.

number of factors working together. The most important among them could be the personality of Nizamuddin Auliya himself.

Auliya was a multidimensional person – a poet, thinker, philosopher, visionary, and saint. He was a ferocious reader of books of diverse nature, and would study late in to the night. He was an erudite scholar of his age, and even during the last days of his life, he was a prolific reader. It was routine throughout his life to spend some hours at night in quiet study, making summaries, taking down notes, and writing his own comments on books and articles.²⁸ To then share his thoughts and findings with his disciples was his passion. He had his own library with books of diverse genres. It seems that Auliya endowed his library not only for his own use but also for the use of his disciples and other visitors. Amir Khurd used his library extensively as a source for his famous work *Siyar-ul-Auliya*. Even Sijzi consulted books from Nizamuddin's library. Nizamuddin's love for literature is reflected through his use of books as a vehicle for spreading his message to solve many of society's problems. He was cognizant that ignorance largely contributed to many problems and that a small but influential number of people actually benefited due to other's ignorance. Auliya believed that the most effective way to relieve the exploited was to make them aware of their value in society. However Auliya was also aware of the fact that even if he was given a second life, he

²⁸ As cited by Lawrence in "Fawa'id-ul-Fuad", p15.

would never have been able to reach the millions across the country. It is because of this that he sent his deputies numbering over 700, to different corners of India in order to spread the message. Auliya was also aware of the vast ranging capacity of the human mind, that every individual had his/her own peculiar way of functioning. To harmonize the thought of the disciples he dispatched to spread the message, it was considered important to have a uniform text which would give consistency to the doctrine of Sufism. Hence the birth of *malfuzaat* - first in the mind of Nizamuddin Auliya and put down on paper with the hands of Amir Hasan Sijzi.

Service of human kind was the Sufi's prime concern. As a visionary, Auliya visualized important role Sufism would play in days to come. But the greatest challenge before him was how to take this message in to the hearts and minds of the common people, and those who were far away from his *khanqah*. Sijzi, the Saadi of India²⁹, was highly affected by his master's teachings, and as a true Sufi, he too wanted others to experience emancipation through the teachings. So Sijzi began by writing whatever he heard during the flow of discourse in the *khanqah*. On March 30, 1309 he broke this news before his master. Here is the conversation of that meeting in the words of the poet

²⁹ Nasiruddin Chirag-I-Delhi called Sijzi the "Saadi of India", after Persian poet Saadi, who was a master of *ghazal*, a form of Persian poetry. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p.143

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himself. Note that in this conversation holds the answers to many questions

which may be on the mind of a researcher. Sijzi wrote:

"I obtained the blessing of kissing his feet. That day I informed him of my wish to compile these discourses. It happened as follows: the time was auspicious, and he granted me a private audience. 'With your permission,' I said, 'I would like to ask something of you.' 'Permission is granted', he replied. 'For more than a year,' I explained, 'I have been continuously in your service. Every movement that I have obtained the blessing of your feet, I have also derived counsels (Fawaид) from your elegant words. What exhortation and advice and inducement to obedience, what stories about the saints and their spiritual states have heard from you! Every kind of soul-inspiring discourses has fallen on my years, and I wanted to make that the foundation for my own life- indeed, to use it as a guide on the Path for this broken person at least to the extent that I could record with the pen what I understood. Also, I have heard the Shaikh say many times that novice must consult a book on the Sufi masters and their guidelines for spiritual progress. Since no collection has been made of the inspiring teachings of the master's predecessors, I have compile those of your blessed words which I have heard and till now I have not shown them (to anyone) awaiting your command , that I might do what you want in this regard.^{۳۰}

In this paragraph of *Fawaيد-ul-Fuad*, Sijzi is expressing his desire to collect his master's words and compile it for the sake of his own personal guidance. In fact at the time of this quote he had already started this work, and had been writing it for more than a year. It was in 1309 when he broke this news that Nizamuddin Auliya came to know about this work. Until then, no one knew about the silent revolution that was taking place in the *khanqah* of Auliya. It was not the only reason that Sijzi "derived counsels from soul-inspiring

^{۳۰} "Fawaيد-ul-Fuad", p.49..

discourses” of Nizamuddin Auliya, but it also had many things to do with the personality of Sijzi himself. Auliya’s *khanqah* was at various times home to scholars like Amir Khusrau, Amir Khurd, and Ziauddin Barni. But it was Sijzi who started collecting the words uttered by his master. Tolstoy said that mysticism without poetry is superstition, and there is no doubt that Sijzi was a great poet of his time. All the important scholars including Khusrau, Barni and Faizi had recognized Sujzi’s skill of poetry, who wrote a *diwan*, a prose elegy on the death of Prince Muhammad, and *Mukh al-Maani*, a book of mystic aphorisms. The poet in Sijzi responded very positively and quickly to the passionate and far-reaching effect of his master’s words. It was a natural response for a poet to pen down what he felt at the bottom of his heart, and the conversations of Auliya clearly had a profound effect on Sijzi.

The meeting of Nizamuddin and Sijzi worked as a catalyst to the literary revolution that would change the face and course of action of the Sufi movement. Both of them shared the same longing to bring happiness to lives of people. Auliya had heard in a spiritual trance that no work would be more highly rewarded on the Day of Judgement than “bringing happiness to the human heart.”³¹ In the eyes of God no spiritual exercise, no penitence, no prayer, no vigil had greater significance than removing the misery of fellow human beings, bringing consolation to distressed hearts, and helping the

³¹ “*Siyar-ul-Auliya*”, p. 128

downtrodden. Both were passing through the same spiritual phase and when Auliya saw Sijzi's work, he could not wait to express his happiness. He told him a story of his interest in collecting and compiling his own master's conversation, the conversation of Baba Farid. He immediately recognized the potential in Sijzi to create a medium to spread his message to the masses. It is very important to note that although it is clear that both Auliya and Sijzi shared a common vision, it was due to the fact they were at the right place and time in history to pursue that vision. They realized the importance of the time and its demand, and it is this realization which made them distinct from the galaxy of poets, scholars and above all, other Sufi saints.

Though works of a similar nature were compiled in other Muslim lands, the credit of defining *malfaaat* goes to Sijzi and his editor Nizamuddin, whose regular inspections of the work contributed to ensuring it was an effective piece of writing, comprehensive and authentic. He ensured that the miracles did not overshadow the importance of the message in his teachings, as Sijzi would write from memory at the end of Auliya's sessions. Some times he left gaps between lines, which Auliya himself would fill. Hence Auliya actively contributed to the compilation of the *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*.

The significance of this work cannot be overemphasized considering the fact that *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad* not only started a new genre of literature but also remained the touchstone by which all the subsequent *mafuz* writing was

judged. Because of its unique position in the history of *malfuz* literature, a critical examination of the ‘event’ of *Fawa'id-ul-Fuad*'s writing can be used to historicize the origin of the *malfuz* tradition. This is done here by examining both the individual character and predisposition of the author(s), as well as their socio-cultural concerns and influences that resulted in the writing of *Fawa'id-ul-Fuad*.

One of the points in this research is the assertion that the writing of *Fawa'id-ul-Fuad* was a turning point in the history of Sufism in India. It was this event that marks a new direction in Indian Sufism by transforming it from a largely individual spiritual quest practiced within the closed group of initiates and the Master, to a popular mass movement so that it came to touch the lives of hundreds and thousands of people across the subcontinent irrespective of their caste, class or religion. Among many factors, one could say that the coincidences of history or the necessity of the hour, depending on one's position, led to such a transformation. It is in this context that the position of Nizamuddin Auliya in the history of Islamic mysticism in India acquires a new significance. As Bruce B. Lawrence says “This led to the proliferation of hospices (*khanqahs*) in the country and the adoption of a common lingua franca for the communication of ideas, and brought about a significant change in the

nature of mystic literature. It shifted the focus of mystic interest from abstract thought to concrete conditions of life and discipline.”³²

Among other important reasons for compiling the *malfuzaat* could be a need to provide an authentic reference source for lay followers. In an earlier quoted verse of the *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*, Sijzi emphasized the concern of his master that, “Novice must consult a book on... spiritual progress.”³³ One thing which is apparent is Nizamuddin Auliya’s concern to provide authentic literature to the seekers of the truth. In the beginning of the 14th century the message of Sufism had touched a significant portion of the population, via their flexible use of communicating in the languages of common people. Yet the demand to know more about early Sufi saints resulted in the exploitation of the Sufi message such to the extent that people started compiling phony *malfuzaat* to sell on the market. These faux writings were claimed to be written by certain famous Sufi saints. This religious and literary forgery took its toll on the original teachings of the saints. The fake *malfuzaat* consisted not of authentic discourse but words and messages which the fraudulent authors perceived that the market wanted to hear.

As mentioned earlier, no one prior to the fourteenth century was seriously interested in *malfuzaat*. It has been asserted by Sufi saints themselves, that

³² Lawrene, B.B., Nizamuddin Auliya: Morals for the Heart, p.6

³³ “*Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*”, p.49.

Sufism had its rise through the Prophet Muhammad, and that all religious orders trace their lines of succession back to him. He is said to have been the recipient of a two-fold revelation, the one embodied in the contents of the Quran, the other within his heart. The former was meant for all, binding all, the latter to be transmitted through a chosen few via lines of succession. Hence it is said that Muhammad's knowledge in popular language is described as being "*ilm-I-safina*", book knowledge and "*ilm-I-sina*", heart knowledge. The former is incorporated in the doctrinal teaching of *ulama*, the latter, strictly esoteric, being the mystical teachings of the Sufis.

As a matter of fact, Sufism itself passed through several phases in the process of its development. Undoubtedly the germ of Sufism is found in certain passages of the Quran, where one can find justification and support for mystical tendencies, so strongly manifested in some of Muhammad's companion's³⁴ and friend's tendencies, which inevitably resulted in a life of detachment, poverty and fortification. So that one may say that the companions of Muhammad and their successors were, in a sense, forerunners of the Sufis.

There are several questions, which naturally come to mind. If Sufism is as old as Islam, then why did it take centuries to realize the important of compiling *malfuzaat* (*malfuzaat* started committing to paper only in the beginning of the

³⁴ Some of the scholars believe that 'Sufis' were called Sufis only "because they are in the first rank (*Saff*) before God, through the elevation of their desires towards Him, the turning of their hearts unto him and staying of their secret parts before him". Quranic Sufism, p.1

14th century)? Any layman could come with the idea that *Ilm-I-sina* is not to be written on paper but to be transmitted from heart to heart as in the Vedic tradition (Vedic texts were committed to paper no earlier than 6th century BC, whereas the period of Rig Veda has been calculated from 1500-1000B.C.)³⁵.

That *Ilm-I-Sina* is to be transmitted from heart to heart does make some sense, but then why Auliya and his disciple and gifted scholar, Sijzi decided to start a project of writing *malfuzaat* is a question which needs to be explored. The basic philosophy behind *Ilm-I-Sina* knowledge of heart, i.e that is to be shared with the chosen gathering only, was in danger. Both Auliya and Sijzi understood the danger that the fake *malfuzaat* posed, in that it compromised the very purpose of communicating knowledge of the heart.. This knowledge could not be replicated by fakes. For example, Sijzi records on Wednesday, June 1309 A.D in the *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*, “A friend was present, and said ‘A man showed me a book in Awadh and said it was written by you’. Auliya replied ‘*Tafaawat gusfeh ast. Man heech kitaabee nah nawishteham*’”³⁶. (Translated “he spoke wrongly. I have not written any such book”). In the same way, Hamid Qalander records in his *Khair-ul-Majalis*, “A friend represented ‘There is difficulty in the *malfuz* of Shaikh Uthman Harvani’.³⁷ Nasiruddin replied, “These *malfuz* are not

³⁵ For detail see A.L. Basham’s “The Wonder That Was India”.

³⁶ “*Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*”, p.75

³⁷ Shaikh Uthman Harvani was the spiritual master of Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti R.A. He, after 20 years of attendance on and travels with his spiritual preceptor, Uthman, he was aware of ‘*Khitraq-i-Khilafat*’ (robbers conferred on succession upon a Khalifa in 1186 A.D at Baghdad before parting with his Murshid. He thus

his. I have also come across this manuscript. Shaikh-ul-Islam Fariduddin, nor Shaikh-ul-Islam Qutbuddin nor the Chishti saints nor any of the preceding Shaikhs of my order have written any such book".³⁸

In the beginning of the fourteenth century, there was a number of such literature which mushroomed throughout India. As mentioned above, during the lifetime of Auliya, a book allegedly written by him came onto the market, and he denied the authorship of this. Later on, Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh-I-Delhi categorically refuted that any of his predecessors had written Sufi texts based on his teachings. The reason for this ‘pious’ forgery was simple: to cater for the spiritual curiosity of naïve admirers, the spurious *malfuzaat* of the great Indian Chishtis were embroidered by anonymous authors who were bereft of both a feeling for history or a first hand knowledge of the lives of their heroes. In his article “Historical Significance of the *Malfuz* Literature of Medieval India”,³⁹ Prof. K.A. Nizami discusses in detail such authentic and unauthentic *malfuz* literature. He scientifically rejected the faux *malfuzaat* of that period. But how to put check on such literature was a challenge for the Sufi teachers of that time. Demand for information about the early Chishti saints encouraged people to engineer with their own words purported original writings on Sufism and

became the recognised Khalifa of his spiritual master and receive the *Mustafawi Tabarrukat* (sacred relics) coming down from the Holy Prophet, traditionally handed down by the Sufi dervishes of Chishtia Silsila (order) to their successors from generations to generations.

³⁸ Quoted by Prof. K.A. Nizamini in his book, “The Life and Times of Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-I-Shakar”, p119, Aligarh, 1955.

³⁹ Nizami, K.A., “On history and Historians of Medieval India”, p.p.163-197

attributing them to famous Sufi preachers to authenticate their work⁴⁰. These phony texts, which distorted the Sufi image, was another cause behind the birth of the distinct *malfuzaat* literature. Sijzi said of the *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*, “Since no collection has been made of the inspiring teachings of the master’s predecessors, I have compiled those of your blessed words”⁴¹ It is clear from this statement that no such literature was available at the time of its compilation, and that there was considered a need to create a written doctrine.

The other important reason for the creation of *malfuzaat* can be found in Auliya’s vision of creating an institution to consolidate the *silsila*. At the time of Auliya, Sufism had matured to a point where consolidation was required. Its fragrance had already touched the hearts of many across the country. Institutionalization of the *silsila* then was the next logical and important step to be taken. To implement this ‘institutionalisation’, guidelines were required, the most important backbone of any institution. Hence the birth of *malfuzaat*. It was the last step in fulfilling Auliya’s desire to provide unadulterated divine messages straight to the heart of the common man.

⁴⁰ For example, *Anusul-Arwah*, was the alleged *malfuzaat* of Shaikh Usaman Harnani and collected by Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti; *Dalil-ul-Arifin*, was the alleged *malfuzaat* of Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti and collected by Shaikh Qutbuddin Bhakhtiyar Kaki; the *Fawaaid-us-Salikine*, was the alleged *malfuzaat* of Shaikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki and compiled by Shaikh Faridduin Ganj-I-Shakar; the *Asrar-ul-Auliya*, the alleged *malfuz* of Shaikh Fariduddin, compiled by Maulana Badr Ishq; and *Rahatul-Qulub*, the alleged *malfuz* of Shaikh Fariduddin, compiled by Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, to quote just a few. None of them were genuine discourses of the Shaikhs.

⁴¹ “*Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*”, p.49.

Where does *malfuzaat* fit in to putting the pieces together about our history? The relevance of studying the Persian *malfuzaat* for a more informed understanding of society during medieval India is evident. Drawing on the Sufi's interaction with diverse social groups, some modern scholars⁴² have suggested that no meaningful study of medieval India can be made without a careful analysis of the Sufi literature of that period. Sufi literature is particularly valuable in light of the fact that many historical chronicles are narrowly centred on the activities of the king and his court. But it must be remembered that the beliefs and practices of Sufis of various *silsila* were not uniform, hence the perceptions and images of society in this genre vary from Sufi to Sufi. Family background, education, religious and political influences, and a whole range of social factors moulded each individual saint's perceptions.

When reading historical chronicles of the sultanate period, for example *Tarikh-I-Firoz Shahi* of Ziauddin Barani, another book of the same title by Isami, and *Tabqat-I-Nasrit* of Minhaj Siraj, one is given a narrow account of life at this time, purely centred around political events, governmental changes and economic measures of the ruling dynasty, for example Alauddin Khalji's market reforms and its effect on military restructuring. In these limited chronicles, there is much information about Khalji's military campaigns and

⁴² See K.A Nizami's "On History and Historians of Medieval India", New Delhi 1982. See also M Habib's article, "Contributions of Sufis and their literature." in K.A Nizami's *Politics and Society During Early Medieval Period*, New Delhi, 1974. Also, Tara Chand "Influence of Islam on Indian Culture", Allahabad 1963, and S.A.A Rizvi "A History of Sufism in India" vol one, New Delhi, 1978.

measures to check the Mongol onslaught. Barani's *Tarikh-I-Firoz Shahi* discusses the token currency of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, and the digging of several canals under the instruction of his successor, Firoz Shah Tughlaq, are well recorded in the pages of this and other contemporary political chronicles. But there is another side of the story to Alauddin Khalji's market reforms, and it is in the *malfuzaat* where one can see that Khalji's policy was not wholly guided by his ambition to expand his empire and become *Sikandar-i-Saani*⁴³ of his time. The historian Ziauddin Barni considered a major objective of Alauddin's control of markets was his desire to punish the Hindus since most of the traders were Hindus and it was they who resorted to profiteering in food grains and other goods.⁴⁴ But Barni forgot to note that most of the overland trade to the West was in the hands of the Khurasanis who were Muslims. Multanis were also dominant partners in the western trades and most of them were also Muslims. To understand further the reasons for the market policy of Alauddin Khalji, we have to turn the pages of the *Khair-ul-Majalis*. It shines a different light on the king's life and reveals that his market policy was not only inspired by the imperialistic nature of the king, but also his humane and benevolent traits. Nasiruddin had a high regard for Alauddin Khalji's

⁴³ Contemporary historians attribute his market reforms to strengthen his military power so that he could fulfill his desire to become "Second Alexander".

⁴⁴ Quoted by Satish Chandra in his book "Mediaeval India". P. 64

philanthropic activities in and around Delhi.⁴⁵ Khalji was so popular among the people of Delhi that after his death, the many visitors to his grave tied threads on it in order to get their prayers granted by God.⁴⁶ Nasiruddin was himself very much impressed by Alauddin Khalji's welfare policy and as a result he used a word *Rahmat-ul-lah* (The blessing of God to him) with the name of the king.

The *malfuz* literature of medieval India then must be consulted supplementary to the court chronicles, to ensure a complete understanding of life during those times, as well as providing a rich source of information regarding the religious, cultural and literary movements of the period. One such movement is discussed in detail by Nasiruddin in his *Khair-ul-Majalis*. The Ibn-I-Taimiyya movement was an orthodox religious movement opposed to any kind of liberal interpretation and implementation of the Quran. As mentioned earlier, the traditional writing of the time regarding the Delhi sultanate was centred mainly around the activities of nobles, princes and kings. But the majority of people, the commoners, contributed greatly to the socio-economic development of this period - farmers, artisans and other working classes, and it is due to the Sufi's interests in the lay person that we come to know about their lives and problems in the pages of *malfuzaat*. For example:

⁴⁵ See page no. 261, 240, 185 & 88 of "Khair-ul-Majalis."

⁴⁶ "Khair-ul-Majalis" p. 241.

"I have several daughters to marry but without any source of livelihood"⁴⁷.

*"The Governor is very harsh on me."*⁴⁸

"My brother is ill and might have expired since I left him".⁴⁹

"I cannot drink the water of Jamuna because it increases appetite and I am very poor".⁵⁰

These problems of the common man were not discussed by court journalists. Newsworthy issues for them included security problems for traders, rebellion by others and non payment of revenues by farmers because of bad harvest or revolt. But problems for the majority of the people are neglected by these writers, and are addressed in *malfuz* literature only. And it was with sensitivity that the mystics addressed the issues of the lay people. The heart of a mystic beats for every one, and they adopted other's pains as if they were their own. Auliya was always in pains to see their condition. While discussing the problems of his time, Nasiruddin narrated a story about his master Auliya. He was explaining how his master pained and agonized over the problems of the society. In *Khairul-ul-Majalis*, Hamid Qalandar records the words of Auliya heard from Nasiruddin. He wrote "Nobody in this world has more worries and agonies than myself. So many people come to me and report their woes and

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 37

⁴⁸ "Fawa'id-ul-Fuad" p. 147

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 232

⁵⁰ Nizamuddin observed an old woman fetching water from a well while the Jamuna flowed nearby. He enquired as to why she was taking the trouble of sourcing well water with the river so close. She answered "my husband is poor, we have no food, the Jamuna is like an appetizer. To avoid hunger we drink water from the well". The reply brought Nizamuddin to tears and he arranged a regular supply of food and water to her. Jawami-ul-Kalim, p. 123, quoted by K.A.Nizami, "On History and Historians of Medieval India", p123.

misfortunes to me. All these (accounts) sear my heart and my soul".⁵¹ Sufi saints never considered themselves as different from others. And that is why the issues of the lay person became issues of the Sufi and are discussed on the pages of *malfuzaat*.

The mystics were very much alive to the exigencies of time and situation. How they behaved in the Indian milieu and contributed in constructing the linguistic and social bridges between the Indians and Muslims is evident throughout *malfuzaat*. The mystics in opened their *khanqahs* to all people. *Khanqahs* and markets were the only two places where people of all walks of life could be found rubbing shoulders. Commenting on the role of mystics in the growth of civilization, Professor Toynbee remarked that it was through the innate development of personality, that individual human beings are able to perform these creative acts; it is the outward field of action that causes the growth of human societies.⁵²

One is constantly reminded of this remark while assessing the role of Muslim mystics within the social and cultural historical framework of India, with its multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-lingual society. India is known for welcoming those individuals imbued with sound moral ideals who could, in the words of Rabindranath Tagore, "set at naught all differences of man by the

⁵¹ "Khair-ul-Majalis", p.105

⁵² Quote by K.A. Nizami. In his work "Life and Times of Baba Farid".

overflow of their consciousness of God".⁵³ The Muslim mystics of the Sultanate period belong to this category of God-fearing individuals - those who transcended the limited and parochial nature of the world around them, to strive for unity of humankind in the diversity of the Sufi religion - truly a unique belief system and way of life.

The scripts of the *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*, *Khair-ul-Majalis* and *Siyar-ul-Auliya* are important writings in terms of understanding the environment of their time.⁵⁴ In the *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*, the foundation of writing *malfuz* literature was laid down in Delhi, the capital of the Sultanate period. Though *Siyar-u-Auliya* is not a *malfuz* text, it is still highly relevant. Its author, Amir Khurd, was a disciple of Auliya. His association with such literary giants as Amir Khusrau, Amir Hasan Sijzi, Fakhruddin Zarradi and Ziauddin Barani⁵⁵, helped him develop his own intellectual and mystical sensitivities. He wrote a detailed biography on Auliya, referencing his many disciples and numerous teachings, the material based on first-hand information as he had access to the Shaikh's papers. This provided a valuable and reliable source of Sufism.

It is rather paradoxical that while in the past there has been a welcome spurt in Indian medieval studies, primarily covering ruling dynastic regions, the

⁵³ See P.N. Chopra's edited 'Society, Religion and Literature' in "Gazetteer of India" vol.two..

⁵⁴ I am grateful to Prof. A.W. Azher, who not only made available these scripts, but also taught me how to read them. His lectures on several topics related to these works were very helpful, as the task of reading the original manuscripts is not easy.

⁵⁵ All of them were regular visitors of Auliya's *Khanqahs*.

corresponding exercise of utilizing unpublished sources, let alone tracing new or unknown ones to illuminate historians on this era, has not been explored not nearly as much as it warrants. The publication of known original sources and the search for unknown ones has been on a steady decline. *Fawa'id-ul-Fuad* is the only work which is readily available.⁵⁶ A lack of concerted effort has been made to publish either in original or translated form the vast historical material that lies waiting in public libraries as well as private collections. Sir H.M. Elliott, of the Indian civil service, published the first volume of his "Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammaddan India" which was later on compiled in English, edited by Professor John Dowson in eight volumes under the title "The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians". However the work was purely based on political chronicles compiled by court historians. Following in the footsteps of Elliot and Dowson, Professor K.A Nizami collected mystic works of the same period, and introduced them under the title "Supplements to Elliot and Dowson's History of India" (Delhi, 1981). After reviewing this work, one can more fully understand the non-political medieval India. Munshi Naval Kishore and other Indian publishing houses, also took interest in bringing out historical works like "Babur Name of Babar", "Akbar Name of Abul Fazl", "Ain-I-Akbari" also by Adul Fazl, "Tabaqat-I-

⁵⁶ For this, credit must go to Mr Mansur Ahmad Usmani, Director, Urdu Academy, Delhi, for doing a commendable job of publishing such manuscripts.

Akbari" by Nizamuddin Ahmad, "Muntakhab-u-Tawarikh" of Nulla Abdul Qadir Badayuni, and "Gulshan-I-Ibrahim" of Firishta to name a few.⁵⁷

The 14th century is an important period in religious history as shown above. Both Sufi and Bhakti movements were influencing the people all throughout India. The first half of the 15th century saw the extension of Sufistic activities to the states of Gujrat and Deccan. The Sufi establishments, their Khanqahs and the *Jamat Khanas* not only served as hospices for travellers and wayfarers, but also as training centres for novices, replete with lessons and discussions on theology, mysticism, scholastic philosophy, ethics, and morality, which was presided over by the saint. Devoted disciples with the express or tacit approval of the saint, covetously recorded their words. In this manner, a considerable number of works came to be compiled in different parts of the country, faithfully recording discourses and proceedings of such meetings which were open to all sectors of society. *Malfuz* literature then constitutes an important non-political history source material on one hand, and on the other hand provides us with a reading of great literary achievements of the era. In no

⁵⁷ A major contribution in the field of making easy the accessibility of original material was made back in the early 1950s, under the auspices of the Department of Advance History, Aligarh Muslim University. Professor S. Nurual Hasan and Dr. Zakir Husain (Head of Department and Vice Chancellor respectively) were the driving forces behind this thrust. Professor Hasan, a prominent historian, held several important posts under the Government of India. As a Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture, he assisted in the formation of "The Gazetteer of India", and its second volume, "History and Culture", is especially important to understand Indian culture. Dr. Zakir Husain was a great educationist. He founded the university Jamia Millia Islamia. Aligarh Muslim University was established by Sir Syed. Professor K.A. Nizami, who with a special blessing from Sir Syed, is one of the earliest scholars who started work on this subject. Along with Professor Muhammad Habib, he opened a new avenue of research, which still has scope for further work. He edited *Khair-ul-Majalis* and has written a number of books and articles on Sufism and Sufi literature. He has done a through job collecting and identifying original and fake *malfazaat*.

other country has this branch of hagiological compilation been systematically and methodically cultivated. Primarily intended to serve as a guidebook for people at large, a manual of spiritual instructions and codes of exemplary conducts to disciples, the theme of these works revolved around the personality and spiritual achievement of the saint and his place in contemporary society. Thus, this literature came to encompass almost every aspect of life in society at all levels, and in all matters, temporal or spiritual. Few other sources of medieval literature provide such a vivid picture of contemporary lives of the laity as well as elite, bringing into sharp focus the varied and intensely human qualities of the spiritual mentor.

The saintly individuals, who at their time were the cream of society, emanated a worldly normality that the common person could relate to, despite their extremely strong aura of other worldliness. From the pages of the *malfuzaat*, we are shown a profile of the daily routine of the household, the servants at work, and the wide range of people visiting. Perusing these works, one is struck at just how ‘normal’ these chosen ones, the Sufi saints, were, leading a life on earth not so different from the man on the street. Even people discussed with the saints the naming of their newly born child. For example a vistor came and announced that “A son has been born in the house of your servant.” The master - may God remember with favour - asked: “What name have did you give him?” ‘I gave him no name (*khair nam*)’, said the servant, ‘so

that I might ask the master what name to give him; Replied the master - may god remember him with favour -‘Since you said “I have gave him no name (*khair nam*), let it be his name,” that is let him be named *Khair* ‘which also means “happy” or “good”!⁵⁸ This shows that how frank he was with his lovers.

The *mafuzaat* tells the medieval ambience of the day. What is striking when reviewing the literature is that certain aspects of social life and behaviour is markedly different, but in some areas, there is little change, and there are many synergies between people now and those living during medieval times. Sufi saints also discussed social problems like adultery and how one should treat adulterers. The following is a very fine example of an anecdote in which he is telling a story related to an illegitimate pregnancy of a woman. Auliya told a story of Umar - may God be pleased with him. “Once a woman came to him and said, ‘O commander of the faithful, I have committed adultery and conceived a child.’ Umar then ordered this woman to be stoned. The commander of the faithful Ali was also present there. ‘One ought to delay carrying out this order,’ he observed. ‘Why?’ asked Umar. ‘though a sin has been committed’, replied Ali, ‘it was that woman who committed the sin. That child is in her womb, what sin did he commit?’.... spare that woman and keep her under surveillance till the child is delivered.’....”⁵⁹

⁵⁸ As cited by Lawrence in “*Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*”, p.301.

⁵⁹ Ibid p.358.

The *malfuzaat* cover a wide range of topics in theme and depth, generally not found in other historical work and chronicles. From religious, theological and spiritual matters and discourses on ethical themes, to anecdotes from the lives of prominent saintly personalities of the past. The works are replete with indicators of manners, beliefs, creeds, prejudices and predilections, modes of behaviour, food, dress, games, and pastimes. In addition, the *malfuzaat* also refer to medieval education systems and curriculum.

In the field of political history, the information contained in the *malfuzaat* in respect of the imperial government and departments of state administration of the day, is found to be valuable in understanding the era. But the *malfuzaat* are more helpful in terms of understanding local history, especially that of relatively minor regions outside of capitals, e.g mofussil towns and villages, which in historical works are generally given low priority or entirely overlooked. In *malfuzaat*, it is possible to get a feel for, through topographical data, historical geography, archaeology, roads and communication of various sites, even gardens and monuments.

The Importance of *Malfuzaat* on Language and Literature

The contribution of *malfuzaat* to the development of Persian language and literature is also an undeniable fact. Contemporarily, most world languages are emphasizing short and simple sentences. On the pages of *malfuzaat*, especially

Fawaid-ul-Fuad and *Khair-ul-Majalis*, these facts are very evident.⁶⁰ Their language is user-friendly, as though it has been written keeping in mind the audience who are not well versed in Persian language. To understand *malfuzaat* one does not require proper training in language or literature. The only criteria is to have a passion and motivation for Sufi ideology. The rest will be cleared the moment one turns its pages. There is no artificial creativity on the pages of this literature. The writes of *malfuz* never played with words to make complex sentences. Instead their efforts were directed at ensuring the teachings were as simple as possible.⁶¹ Those who have an interest in discovering the language of that period, they should include a consultation of this literature.

Fawaid-ul-Fuad and *Khair-ul-Majalis* are typical illustrations of the Persian language spoken in India in the 14th century. The language of common people was the language generally used in the *Khanqahs*, where local expression was adopted to give a colloquial touch to their thought. For example, Amir Khusrau, disciple of Auliya, composed poetry in which one line would be in Persian, and the next in Hindi⁶². The masters explained the most complicated thoughts in a very simple way. This simplicity in their expression of thought is the most important jewel in the garland of Sufism. Conversely, the *ulema* expressed the most simple ideas in a very complex manner, most likely to prove

⁶⁰ See notes and references for original text.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

their intellectual superiority over others. But, as earlier mentioned, Sufi saints did not have such mentality. Clarity of ideas and lucidity in expression was their trademark.⁶³ This can be practiced only by those who have a proper understanding of their subjects. Only such individuals can explain the most abstract ideas in the simplest way. So there was a deliberate effort to ensure their messages were understandable to those from the lowest socio-economic levels. This added a new style to Persian in which local dialects were incorporated into the language, and short and easy sentences were written. This proves the educative and moral values of the *malfuzaat*.

Another area in which the *malfuzaat* can prove useful is in understanding the history of language and literature of local languages such as Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi. It is said that the first Punjabi language⁶⁴ was spoken in the *khanqah* of Baba Farid. Faithful records of utterance, these memoirs provide information on the form of language spoken at various periods and in different regions, and as such, are of great help in tracing the history and development of Hindi or proto-Urdu. They also give some mention to poets and authors, verses being quoted in Arabic, Persian and local dialects of Hindi and proto-Urdu, and names of treatises and works, elusive in other historical sources.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ For detail please see K.A. Nizami's "Life and times of Shaik Farid al-Din Ganj-I-Shakar".

The Religious Importance of *Malfuzaat*

“Religion is a belief in the existence of a God or Gods, who has/have created the universe and given humanity a spiritual nature which continues to exist after the death of the body. It is a particular system of faith and worship based on such a belief: *the Christian, Buddhist and Hindu religions*”⁶⁵ This is a contemporary and internationally recognized definition of religion. A.P. Cowie, the editor of the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, has failed to show his impartiality even in editing a dictionary. Compiling a dictionary for the consumption of students across the world, and he has excluded one of the major world religions. Christianity, Islam and Hinduism are the prevalent religions in the contemporary world. It is possible that this editor had no intention of leaving Islam out from a religious point of view, but how can one justify his selection of two religions from one country, one of which has almost disappeared from its country of birth (Buddhism). This would suggest a biasness on the behalf of this editor.

If one turns the pages of *malfuzaat*, he/she will find human hearts as the target audience. Each and every individual held the same importance in the eyes of the Sufi. The primary importance of the *malfuzaat* lie in their approach towards human problems. As discussed already, Auliya had the propensity to

⁶⁵ Cowie, A.P., Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary p. 1064

become the most unhappy person in Delhi because of his concern of the common people.

The religious importance of the *malfuzaat* can be seen in the way religious doctrines are explained. The writers of the literature were very clear in conveying their thoughts and understanding of spiritualism. Spiritualism for Sufi saints did not mean leaving the world and living a reclusive life. It is clear from their teachings they wanted to live among people. There was a time when Nasiruddin expressed his desire to retreat to the forest and engage himself in contemplating God. Auliya strongly advised him to be among the people, and explaining the meaning of '*tark-I-diniya*' (renouncing of the world), he said that "Renouncing the world does not imply that one becomes naked, wearing only a loincloth or sitting in solitude. Renouncing worldliness means instead to wear clothes and to take food while at the same time squandering the material wealth on other human beings. Thus, no attachment to material wealth is tantamount to renouncing worldliness."⁶⁶ This is the true interpretation of *tark-I-duniya* in Sufi teachings.

The expressions of the Sufis throughout the *malfuzaat* is clear and lucid. Unlike the traditional teachers of Islamic ideology, the *ulema*, the ideals, aims and activities of Sufi saints were neither diluted nor made complex and complicated to impress people. They, their ideals and their teachings were

⁶⁶ See notes and references for original text.

always people-friendly. That is why people centuries later have found solace in reading *malfuz* books. When Sir Syed Ahmad Khan started his pioneering work in spreading scientific education in the second half of the nineteenth century, he noticed the popularity of Sufi literature in not only among educated men of the elite class but also among the masses. Men and women, young and old, all found spiritual solace in its study. B. B. Lawrence, while discussing the importance of the *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*, writes that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, nineteenth century Indo-Muslim educator, informs us that in his day not only men but also women used to read it⁶⁷.

Only on the pages of *malfuzaat* can one come to know about all Sufi saints, major and minor, of all Sufi orders. The *malfuzaat* is the only source which refers to a wide range of Sufis. It is the message, not source, that is important in these writings. In the assembly 7th Ramadhan, A.H. 721 Auliya not only discussed Qutbudin Bakhtiyar Kaki (Chishti order), but also Shaikh Mahmud Muinaduz, Khwaj Fariduddin Attar, Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria, Khwaj Hakim Sanai and Shaikh Saifuddin Bakharzi⁶⁸.

The majority of Sufi orders remained aloof from the courts of kings to avoid identification with the centre of imperial power. Their very avoidance of the king's circle contributed to an increased respect from the lay person, who

⁶⁷ See Lawrence's notes in "Fawaaid-ul-Fuad", p. 4

⁶⁸ "Fawaaid-ul-Fuad", p.p. 360-363.

could more closely identify themselves with the saints. Auliya deliberately refused admission to kings in his *khanqah*. This meant more time to engage himself in servicing the poor and the oppressed. Mystic discipline pursued without extravagance was an important prerequisite for the moral well being of the individual and society. To the individual, discipline encourages balance, clarity, tolerance and love. It is a solvent of narrow prejudices and is an inspiration for human service. It exalts the spirit above the pressure of the mind's immediacies – the pressure of instinct, inclination and passion, and uplifts the mind to the contemplation of a striving for God. The mystic is one who is free in his spirit. Such an attitude makes for a liberal society. It is inevitable that a mystic chafes against the barriers of creed, wealth, power and even of law and learning, and promote an open society to which access is not hindered by the accident of birth or fortune.

How did the Sufis react and adjust themselves to the existence of a political order that did not represent the true political spirit of Islam? Again, the answers to this question are well documented in various *malfuzaat*. The Sufis placed little importance on the political leaders of their age. Through the *malfuzaat*, we know that Jalaluddin Khalji tried to meet Nizamuddin Auliya but failed in his efforts. Alauddin Khalji's sons, Princes Khizra and Shadi Khan - were accepted into Auliya's discipleship but only after much persuasion and

pressure on Auliya, and after becoming his disciples, they worked in his *langarkhanah* (community kitchen).

Through the *Khair-ul-Majalis*, we know that during Nasiruddin's period of *Khaliafat*, there were many disputes between the mystics and the *ulema*. The conflict between mystics and *ulema* peaked with the arrival of Iman Abdul Aziz Ardbeli, who was a student of Ibn Taimiyya⁶⁹, in the court of Tughluq. Taimiyya's movement had a great influence on Muhammad bin Tughlaq, who adopted a policy of hostility towards mystics and sought to change their way of life and ideology completely. This tension during Nasiruddin's period of *Khaliafat* can be seen in the pages of the *Khair-ul-Majalis*. Nasiruddin himself took the task to purify those aspects of mystic life which had invited criticism from the orthodox quarters and made a serious and sincere effort to bridge the gulf between the jurists and the mystics.

In closing this chapter, it should be reiterated that the birth of this literature in the beginning of the fourteenth century was essentially a marketing tool for the masses. As there were no newspapers, radio, television, or internet, apart from public speaking, the written word was the only mass communication method that the Sufis had to spread their message. Sufism traditionally being based on teaching via oral discourses, Auliya's history-making *Fawaaid ul-Fuad*

⁶⁹ Ibn Taimiyya (1263-1328) launched a movement against the *Khanqah* life and mystic institutions. His movement found a support in Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlug.

became the prototype for all subsequent *malfuzaat*, and was the catalyst for the creation of a distinct written language, amalgamating Persian, Hindi and other dialects, in order to spread the Sufi net out as wide as possible. An almanac for its followers, the *malfuzaat* documented the life and activity of saints, both contemporary of the period and historically. It also mirrors the social and ideological condition of the Indo-Muslim society at that time, and even reveals the influence of Hindu religious thought on Muslim mystics, a subject which is dealt with in the fifth chapter of this thesis.

3. LIFE IN THE SULTANATE PERIOD AS DEPICTED IN THE PERSIAN MALFUZAAT

As mentioned in the previous chapter, one of the most significant features of *malfuzaat* is that it deals with subject matter that other historical texts of the same period have omitted. Expert in medieval Indian history, S.A.A Rizvi, comments that “Modern works in Islam in the Indian subcontinent have not made adequate use of Sufi literature in analyzing the political, social and economic history of medieval India”.¹ It is still true today that Sufi literature has been widely ignored, yet the *malfuzaat* are important and reliable alternatives for revealing the mentality and lives of the masses during the Sultanate era, reflecting the actions and reactions of the common man – their food habits, style of dress, money and currency, their dwellings, their festivals, places of worship, the commodities available at the market. We can also gain insight into details such as social class, religious rituals and practices, position of women, education, occupation, recreation, and climate. The scope of the *malfuzaat* then is not only a depiction of mystical experiences and discourses of the Sufis, but can be used to reconstruct the social life of the ordinary person. As such, we can utilize the *malfuzaat* to fill the gaps outstanding on life in the

¹ Rizvi, S.A.A, “The Wonder that Was India”, Vol II, pxxxv.

Sultanate period, questions which many other historical texts of the period do not answer.

Appreciating the *malfuzaat*'s focus on documenting life at the grassroots level, it is important to note that during the period of the compilation of the first and most famous *malfuz* book, the *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*, several ground-breaking political events took place² that were not even touched on in the discourses of Nizamuddin Auliya. This indicates that these 'important' events did not disturb the fabric of daily life. That in spite of these political events that changed the course of history, within and around the *khanqahs* there continued an endless process of observation, assimilation and adjustment of diverse elements and tendencies³, which were giving shape and complexion to the cultural traditions of India. Whilst Alauddin Khalji introduced a market policy of price fixing to boost his economic power⁴, Sufis were studying and interacting with the common people, and as such, *malfuzaat* depicts a broad composite culture,

² 1308 - Expedition to Malwa
 1310 - Malik Naib's expedition into the south Indian peninsula
 1316 - Death of Alauddin, Accession of Shihabuddin Umar, Death of Malik Naib, Deposition of Umar and accession of Qutbuddin Mubarak
 1317-18 - Extinction of Yadava dynasty
 1320 - Usurpation by Nasiruddin Khusrav, Foundation of Tughlaq dynasty, founded by Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq
 1321 - Expedition of Warangal under Muhammad Jauna, Rebellion of Muhammad
 1323 - Second expedition to Warangal under Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

³ K.A Nizami, "Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the 13th century". p 69.

⁴ Due to numerous invasions of India by the Mongols at their height of power and strength, Khalji expanded his military power through introducing a market policy, which included price fixing, and there were markets in Delhi at which prices were fixed on grain, cloths, cattle and slaves. See Satish Chandra's "Medieval Indian: From Sultanate to Mughal".

demonstrating that there was no break in daily activities despite the momentous political events that took place concurrently.

The *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*, a contemporary work during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khalji, is a unique blend of articulate expression and thoughts. Despite the fact that throughout Nizamuddin's lifetime there reigned four⁵ important sultans, no description of their accession or their political achievements is given in this work. The routine life in his *khanqah* was unperturbed by these changes in power structure, and like his predecessors, Auliya refrained from indulging in court politics, maintaining a certain distance from the various rulers. As a result, his discourses were completely devoid of political affairs and were confined to topics such as *tafseer* (exegesis), *hadith* (tradition), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), history, *Siyar-ul-Auliya* (biographies of saints), *Malfuzaat-I-Mashaikh* (conversation of saints), *namaz* (prayer offering), mysticism, *akhlaqiyaat* (public etiquette), philosophies, stories of Sufi saints, language, literature, and *sama* (musical gatherings). His prime concern was the service of mankind as exemplified by his assertion that altruistic service is more important than formal ritual.⁶

⁵ Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316), Mubarak Khalji (1316-1320), Khusrau Khan (1320), Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq (1320-1325)

⁶ "Fawaaid-ul-Fuad", 13th Assembly, 3rd Muharram 708 A.H, p21.

Before reviewing parables of the *mafuzaat*, it is helpful to have some understanding of the history and culture of the period under study. In each and every story, it is not the miracle that carries weight but the message in it. Every symbol in the following parable signifies a thought, an approach, and an ideological inclination of the storyteller. The excerpt below is taken from the *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*, and is a story of Sufi saint, Maulana Kaithali. It is a fine example of a parable which reveals certain details about daily life during Nizamuddin's days:

*"One year there had been a famine in Delhi. It occurred during the reign of Qutbuddin Hasan. Passing through the cloth market, I became hungry and bought some food. I said to myself that I should not eat this food alone. I sought someone with whom to share it. I saw a dervish wearing a Sufi cloak. He passed before me, patched garment and all. I called out to him "Oh Khwaja, I am a dervish and you too a dervish. I am poor and you too appear to be poor. There is this bit of food. Come let us share it!" The dervish agreed. We went to the vicinity of a restaurant and began to eat. During the meal I looked at the dervish and said "O Khwaja! I owe twenty tankas. I must repay that debt", he replied, "Eat your food with a clear heart. I will give you twenty tankas". Maulana Kaithali said, "I thought to myself, from where will this man with his threadbare cloak find twenty tankas to give me..."*⁷.

In short, when they finished eating, the dervish got up and motioned Maulana Kaithali to follow him. He went to a mosque behind which was a

⁷On Muhamarram 11, 711, A.H Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya narrated this story to his disciples, which he had heard from Maulana Kaithali, "Fawaaid-ul-Fuad", 21st Assembly of 2nd fascicule, p403

grave, and said something and with a small stick he had in his hand, and striked the grave a couple of times. As he did so, he said “This *dervish* needs twenty *tankas*, provide it for him”. Having said this, he turned towards Kaithali and announced “The master will provide. You will get twenty *tankas*”. The story went on and at the end Maulana Kaithali got the required amount from a Turk sitting on the balcony of his home.

A miracle to most, historians on the other hand will see important information in this parable about certain idiosyncrasies of that period. For followers, the moral of the story was to adhering to humanistic Sufi principles, even at the time of calamity. For historians, it is not the return of twenty *tankas* that is significant but the mention of famine. Although this story was narrated in A.D. 1311 (711 A.H.), there is no mention of famine in or around that period from other sources written at the time⁸. The most severe famine that has been documented, which forced Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq to leave Delhi and take shelter in Swargadwari near Kanauj, was much later⁹. The famine in this story tells us that there was a scarcity of food grain in Delhi, and with the

⁸ Medieval sources such as Barani’s “Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi”, “Fatwa-i-Jahandari” and “Hasrat Namah”, Shams Afif’s “Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi”, and Amir Khusrau’s “Tuglaq Namah” make no reference to the famine mentioned in the *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*.

⁹ Majumdar, R.C., Raychaudhari, H.C., Datta, K, “An Advanced History of India”, and Satish Chandra, Medieval India, p.68.

occurrence of drought, it is possible that the agricultural activities at that time were not enough to provide food to go around.

The *dervish* passing through a cloth market in time of famine is also significant. That he was waiting in a cloth market with some food so that he could share with someone is an example of Sufi principles in practice.

That the market was open and people were visiting the market may indicate that the occurrence of famine was only affecting the common people (another reason why medieval historical sources of the period do not mention the famine). However there was evidently enough business for the market to stay open, perhaps for wealthier people who had surplus money to buy clothes. This shows a disparity within the Islamic society of that era, of which the basic principle was so-called egalitarianism.

It has been noticed that people will go to any lengths to ‘grab a loaf’ in the time of famine. In the eighteenth century famine in Bengal for example, it is known that people sold their children, some of them ate dead animals, and some even consumed their children for a meal. Storage of food grain for economic reasons is one cause of famine. Through this story Nizamuddin conveyed the message that food should be shared, not stored, whatever amount one has, even during time of scarcity. Nizamuddin used this parable to convey a message about sharing through the attitudes of a Sufi *dervish* in the time of such scarcity.

Most kings of the sultanate period were not in favour of graveyard visitations, as it is against Islamic tenets. They considered it to be pagan behaviour, akin to worshipping idols. Sultans Firoz Shah Tughlaq and Sikander Lodhi made a law prohibiting ad hoc visitations to graveyards. In this story however, the *dervish* not only visited a graveyard, but also made a ritualistic plea at the foot of a grave. For a follower of Islam, asking from anybody except God was considered a heretical practice. Sufis however challenged this rule, a rule which was strongly upheld by the *ulema*.

Sufi saints were so engrossed in following ‘best practice’ in terms of the basic tenets of Islam that they even condoned giving preference to a slave over one’s own children. The following story was narrated by Nizamuddin in 1308 A.D, during the early days of the compilation of his *mafuzaat*, and is about this very subject, when a Sufi saint gives his *khilafat* to a slave. The story goes like this:

“...I had a slave named Malih. Out of the deference to the master – may God perpetuate his blessings – and in gratitude for the privilege of disciple, I had set him free and offered prayers on his behalf. On these occasions the master – may god prolong his blessings – observed that “there is no such thing as slavery and no dominion in the way, all who enter properly into the world of love do God’s work.” To explain what he meant, he told the story of a certain master from Ghazni. He had a slave named Zairak and that slave was extremely righteous and virtuous. When the time of death approached the Saint, his disciple asked, “Who will sit on your throne?” “Zairak” replied the saint. However, the saint had four sons, Ikhtiyar, Ajdal, Akbar and Ajla. Zairak asked in astonishment, “Oh Khawaja, would your

sons allow me to succeed? Every time they will ridicule me". "Set your heart at ease" replied the saint, "If they cause you trouble, I will defend you from their evil machination". In short, when the saint joined the realm of divine mercy, Zairak succeeded him. The sons of the saint started to create problems. They frowned upon Zairak by calling him a slave. When their harassment became intense, Zairak went to the grave of the saint pleading, "Oh master, you said you will defend me from your son's assault. Now they are berating me and you must honour your promise". After having said so, he returned home. Within a few days, non-believers attacked Ghazni. The inhabitants went out to fight them. All four of the saint's progeny also joined the fray and perished in the battlefield. And Zairak continued to preach without any hurdles"¹⁰.

The aforementioned Malih, after he had taken vows of discipleship, offered two cycles of prayers. "*What was your intention in offering these two cycles of prayer?" asked the master. "To expel everything except God," replied Malih.* The assemblies were related to the environment in which they took place. The location was Ghazni, an area famous for slave trading at the time. This particular *hekayat* (story) has three signifiers – the slave, his master and four sons. One thing, which is clear through this story, is that slavery was very much prevalent, and there were no restrictions placed on the practice of slavery by the rulers who were generally under the influence of the *ulema*. The story is centred on a slave who succeeds his master, superseding the master's sons. The sons'

¹⁰ "Fawaaid-ul-Fuad", 8th Shaban, 2nd assembly, A.H 707 (1308), p5. "Bandeh ra ghulami bood maleeh nam, aoora beshukraneh iradat hamrah aawrod dar nazar-I-khwajah zikrul-Allah bel khair azaa – Maleeh mazkoor ra ba-ad az aan kah iraadat aawordad wo doorganeh namaaz far mood, dar aan mahel bar lafz-I-mobarak raand ke een doognah ra neeyat cheh baatad kard, guft baraa-I-nafee masoo-I-Allah".

opposition to the succession of Zairak is indicative of the thinking prevalent at that time, and the contradictions, which were rife between practices and codes of conduct. The opposition of the master's sons is a good example of the position of slaves in this society, but more revealingly, from the information gathered in the story, we learn that acquisition of knowledge was not restricted to noble lineage and *khilafatship* did not recognize kinship. In fact, most often the spiritual successors of Sufis were their favourite disciples, and sons were seldom preferred.¹¹ The value of a man was measured not by his lineage, but by his Knowledge and virtuous deeds. Zairak, a slave, was nominated because of his virtuous nature.

This next story also regarding slavery during the sultanate period further highlights not only the prevalence of trading humans, but also the profitable nature of this business at the time. The *malfuzaat* however is unique touching on this topic, as it is here that we learn about the Sufi attitudes towards the business of trading people, and the unconventional position they took on releasing these people.

"In olden days a dervish... came from Bihar and stayed at the house of Shaikh 'Ali Sijzi... This dervish used to beg for money from all quarters. "If you live in this house do not go about begging, I will give you something to live on," Shaikh Ali said to him. He gave the

¹¹ Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, Qutbuddin Bakhtiya Kaki, Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar, Nizamuddin Auliya, and Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Delhi, bore no blood relation with their master or successor. In fact there was a slight skirmish between Nizamuddin and the sons of Baba Farid at the time Farid passed *khilafatship* to Nizamuddin.

dervish five hundred jitals. The dervish traded with the money and in a short time increased his capital to thirty tankas, then reinvested it increasing his capital to hundred tankas and purchased slaves with them. "Take your slaves to Ghazni," Shaikh Ali advised him, "they will fetch a higher price." The dervish acted on his advice. But he had one trustworthy slave to whom he said: "You become my disciple.' The slave became his disciple.... In the Ghazni slave market people wanted to purchase this slave also. In the beginning the dervish denied but when the price of this slave rose from one to four, the dervish changed his mind. With eyes full of tears, the slave said to the dervish: "Khwaja, from the day I became your murid (disciple) you placed a cap on my head and said that it is the cap of Syedi Ahmad. Now you are going to sell me. Tomorrow on the day of judgement I will have a complaint against you before Syedi Ahmad". When the slave said this, the dervish's heart softened, he said to all present 'you bear witness to the fact that I have set this slave free'"¹².

The recording of the subaltern class history, as Gramsci says, is not a recent development.¹³ While historians like Ranajit Guha realized the importance of unhistorical histography in the second half of the twentieth century, the authors of the *malfuzaat* had been doing so since the beginning of the fourteenth century. The *malfuzaat* contains numerous references to the aggrieved subaltern classes seeking redressal of their problems. The very nature of these problems is a spotlight on contemporary society of that time. For example, when people would relay their problems to the Shaikh, his answer provides clues as to the type of individual he was addressing. In fact, Nizamuddin with his idiosyncratic ways of instruction, chose not to advise any

¹² "Fawaaid-ul-Fuad" p112.

¹³ Gramsci as quoted in the introduction editor Ranjit Guha's "Subaltern History".

visitor directly, rather offered a solution to the individual's problems indirectly, suggesting remedies through anecdotes and parables. This is one of the reasons why the *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad* includes several stories on the one theme.

It was in the *khanqahs* that the humanitarian aspects of Islam, namely equality and brotherhood, were practiced as well as preached. Prophet Muhammad preached the importance of unity and humanity, and speaking at Arafat shortly before his death, he emphasized the issue of brotherhood between Arabs and non-Arabs, and the concept of *ummah* (one community indivisible). He reiterated that Allah created each individual brethren for one another, regardless of race, religion and caste.¹⁴ Islamic Delhi, the seat of the sultanate empire, was presided over by a Muslim king, who asserted himself as working for the spread of Islam. Among the residents of Delhi, including wealthy merchants, bureaucrats, and important dignitaries, there was much hypocrisy. In a city built on Islamic principles of peace, justice and egalitarianism, the following comments were overheard in the *khanqah* and subsequently recorded in *malfuzaat*:

*I have several daughters to marry but without any source of livelihood*¹⁵.

*The Governor is very harsh on me.*¹⁶

*My brother is ill and might have expired since I left him.*¹⁷

¹⁴ Akbar S. Ahmed, "Discovering Islam", Vistar Publications, New Delhi, 1990, p.20.

¹⁵ "Khair-ul-Majalis" p. 37

¹⁶ "Fawaaid-ul-Fuad" p. 147

*I cannot drink the water of Jamuna because it increases appetite and I am very poor.*¹⁸

Such stories about society during the Delhi sultanate can be found on the pages of the malfuaat of the period in Persian. These comments reveal certain crucial social dilemmas that lay people were confronted with, and as is revealed, dilemmas, which were neglected by the ruling classes. Many history texts of the period neglect these problems; rather they focus on socio-political and economic events that generally gloss over the ground realities, employing a hyperbolic tone in appreciating the triumphs and exploits of their kings.

It is in *malfuaat* that we learn about social problems, unabridged. Regarding the realities of dowry and economics for the common man, the *Khair-ul-Majalis* tells us about a visitor who is disturbed because he has so many daughters but nothing to help them get married. Nizamuddin was very much distressed because of this common problem which he noticed in the society of his age:

“...So many poor and destitute people are sleeping in the corners of mosques and on the platforms of shops. They have nothing to eat for dinner. How can this food go down my throat?”¹⁹

¹⁷ ibid. p. 232

¹⁸ Nizamuddin observed an old woman fetching water from a well while the Jamuna flowed nearby. He enquired as to why she was taking the trouble of sourcing well water with the river so close. She answered, “my husband is poor, we have no food, the Jamuna is like an appetizer. To avoid hunger we drink water from the well”. The reply brought Nizamuddin to tears and he arranged a regular supply of food and water to her. Jawami-ul-Kalim, p. 123, quoted by K.A.Nizami, “On History and Historians of Medieval India”, p123.

It is evident from the above comment that the Delhi society of his age was not an ideal one. Though the rulers were Muslims, their guiding principle to rule northern India was led largely by economic and political ambitions. It seems there was no concept of a welfare policy especially for second class citizens. In the *Khair-ul-Majalis*, we read that Nasiruddin was disturbed by the fact that the rulers were not following the ideals of the Caliphs. He narrated a story of Umar's reign and said:

“...All efforts of the former rulers were directed towards fostering the welfare of the people.”²⁰

As he spoke in the past tense, it can be derived from the above statement that even during his lifetime, the period of Tughlaq, there was a lack of people-oriented policies, and the condition of the layperson left much to be desired. Medieval expert Satish Chandra, under the heading “Firoz’s Concept of Benevolence and People’s Welfare” states that all contemporary writers refer to the general prosperity in Firoz Shah’s long reign of 40 (lunar years), and the affordability of commodities.²¹ Shams Siraj Afif, the biographer of Firoz, says that there was “all round cheapness” in Firoz Shah’s reign without any effort on

¹⁹ “*Siyar-ul-Auliya*”, p. 128.

²⁰ “*Khair-ul-Majalis*”, p. 139

²¹ Chandra, Satish, “Medieval India: From Sultanate to the Mughal”, Part one, p.p.113and 115.

his part.²² This is in direct contrast to the information in the *Khair-ul-Majalis*.

At the same time that Shams Afif talks about affordability of commodities, the master's *khanqah* was visited by people with economic problems. Following are excerpts from the *Khair-ul-Majalis* which outrightly reject the arguments for prosperity in the Tughlaq period:

*Langar in the time of Alauddin Khalji*²³

*Good feast can be arranged in 2 to 4 jitals...*²⁴

*But all this had disappeared during the time of reigning Sultan, Firoz Tughlaq.*²⁵

*... what a cheapness in those days [Alauddin Khalji's era]*²⁶

*Even beggars had one or two quilts [Alauddin Khalji's era].*²⁷

The words “cheapness in those days” indicates that during Nasiruddin's time (during the reign of Tughlaq), commodities were costly compared to the price of commodities during Alauddin Khalji's rule. This contradicts Shams Afif's claim of cheapness of every commodity. As we can see from the excerpts above, Nasiruddin also witnessed a lack of good feast and langar. And the clue to price hikes in the line “Even a beggar had one or two quilts” which indicates the comparison between the economic condition of the Tughlaq period and its preceding ruling dynasty.

²² Ibid., part one, p.115.

²³ “*Khair-ul-Majalis*”, p.185

²⁴ Ibid. p. 240.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 240

²⁶ Ibid. p. 240.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 240.

It is likely that according to the court chroniclers, the general prosperity referred to in Firoz Shah's long reign was exclusive, as Nasiruddin's comment "what a cheapness in those days" is a strong indicator that life in his period was comparatively hard for the common man. It also implies that food grains were not readily available in the market. It is possible that the hoarding of food grain at this time, which goes against the principle of any welfare policy, was at its height. Here one can draw two conclusions.

Firstly, that what we read in court chronicles of the period is not the full story. The court chroniclers were state employees, and there was a tradition of *qasida khwani* (panegyric writings) in the Islamic world implemented to please the ruling monarch and earn a good living. The court chroniclers of Tughlaq were not entirely panegyric writers, but it is likely that they were influenced by this tradition. In any case, it was very unlikely to find criticism of a ruling Sultan from his salaried writers.

Secondly, 'general prosperity' may mean prosperity for those people in court circles, the elite class. A careful review of the *Khair-ul-Majalis* reveals that Nasiruddin did not live in an affluent period. Complaining about the disappearance of *langar*, commenting that during Alauddin's reign there was plenty of community kitchen organized on a regular basis, the Tughlaq period was poor from this point of view. Nasiruddin personally faced it, and during

the days of his adversity, we know that he was helped by Nathu Patwa who came to him and placed two pieces of bread before him.²⁸ What did he mean by “good feast in those days could be arranged in 2 to 4 *jitals*”? Here Nasiruddin possibly complaining about the rise in the price of arranging a good feast.

Nasiruddin’s perception about the age he lived in can also be justified with the survey of literature produced during the Tughlaq period. It is said that literature is a mirror of a society. Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizami’s detailed study of literature of the Tughlaq and Khalji periods arrives at the same conclusion as Nasiruddin in *Khair-ul-Majalis*. Nizami says that the Persian literature produced during the Tughlaq period represents a milieu quite different from that of the Khalji period. The literature produced during the Tughlaq era is soaked in pessimism and breathes an atmosphere of frustration and despair, yet the literature produced during the time of Khalji’s is full of buoyancy, hope and confidence. This variation in the spirit of literature had its roots in the general political atmosphere of the period.²⁹

Here we can also compare conversations of both Nizamuddin and Nasiruddin, who lived in the Khalji and the Tughlaq periods respectively. Two distinctive passages from *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad* and *Khair-ul-Majalis* demonstrate the differences not only between the two periods but also between two peers

²⁸ Ibid. p. 213.

²⁹ Nizami, K.A., “Supplement to Elliot and Dowson’s ‘History of India’”, Vol. III, p.35.

Nizamuddin and Nasiruddin. The atmosphere of both the *khanqahs* represents the atmosphere of their respective eras:

"One time (reports Hasan Sijzi) the subject under discussion was sama "I am perplexed," I said, "no matter how many of the customary acts of devolution, or even how many of the special devotions of dervishes I perform I am frustrated. Yet when I participate in sama, complete tranquility and peace of mind overcome me. A similar state is produced when I am in the company of my spiritual master, for at that time my heart is free of the passions of the world and the lower self". Is your heart then also free of attachments?" asked the Shaikh, "Yes, it is" I replied".³⁰

Sama, commented Nizamuddin, was of two kinds: assaulting and non-assaulting. The first is the kind which assaults the listener when he hears a (beautiful) voice or a line of poetry. It produces an agitation in him, and therefore is called “assaulting”. It is inexplicable. The second is ‘non-assaulting’, that is to say it has the effect of transporting the listener to some other place, whether it be the presence of God, or to the presence of the Shaikh, or to some place which he just happens to recall.³¹

Hamid Qalander begins his account of the 18th assembly by saying:

"I received the blessings of kissing the feet of the Shaikh. In this city nothing matters to me except the sacred tom of Shaikh Nizamuddin, and after that, the blessings of meeting with you"³². "So long as one does not pursue the path" replied Nasiruddin, "he will not arrive at the goal. If you are idle and still hope to reach the goal, you will not reach it. Striving is the

³⁰ "Fawaaid-ul-Fuad" p. III- assembly 16

³¹ Ibid. p. III- assembly 16

³² "Khair-ul-Majalis", 18th Assembly.

precondition for success. "³³ Those who strive in us, surely will guide them to our paths". Afterwards he added, "And what is the fruit of this endeavour? Through striving you obtain the purification of heart from any object other than God, and you become totally absorbed in the task of confirming your will to his". Then he added, "This is the true meaning of 'there is not god but God'. Purify the heart from anything other than God is the denial (there is no God), whilst absorbing oneself in obedience to God is the affirmation (...but God)". "O Master", I rejoined, *this humble creature is in some small measure pre-occupied with God, but to practice continual fasting is virtually impossible. The climate of Delhi in the summer is notorious; the wind is like a rain of fire. With every breath, one's thirst increases*". "O Dervish", exclaimed Nasiruddin, "If you cannot keep the fast, at least reduce your consumption of food". And then he added, "where do you go to busy yourself with God? To your house, or to some other place?" "In my house" I replied, "there is much disturbance and commotion, but it does not impede me, and if I should be disturbed, I may go out to some garden or isolated spot, under some trees, where I see no one and no one sees me". "And do you not also take along an inkstand and some paper?" enquired the Shaikh, "in order to busy yourself composing ghazals and other forms of poetry? It was not this sort of preoccupation to which I was referring. What is required of you is to preoccupy yourself with God". "Alas" I exclaimed, "you have correctly intuited the whole matter if a line of poetry comes to me, I write it down and then I focus my attention on God again". "If you are able to focus your attention on God (in such a manner)" replied Nasiruddin, "that is commendable, for there is no thicker veil between God and man and no greater impediment to spiritual progress than composing poetry".

In the above passages, Sizji has raised a question relating to a musical gathering and its positive effect on him, whereas Hamid's issue was one relating to his inability to practice fasting rituals because of a very hot summer. In most circumstances, mention of music in one's life comes at a time when one

³³ Ibid. 18th Assembly.

is generally satisfied. It shows a positive Sijzi and his time's economic condition. Qalandar's problem on the other hand is very personal. Even when, as mentioned in the last chapter, Sijzi started writing the words of his master, he had the feeling of bringing happiness and solace to others through this collection. Qalander's personality is quite different. He is struggling with a personal problem, and is not well off in his life. In these quotes, both disciples were confessing their frustrations to their respective spiritual guides. There can be seen a difference in the nature of problems Sijzi remarks that he will not be able to get solace in prayer of any kind but the *sama*. Qalandar's personality is different in a sense that he was not able to perform rituals giving an excuse of season. He says Delhi is very hot and its air is burning, a poor excuse not expected from a dervish.

It is also interesting to note the responses from the two saints. Nizamuddin turns the discussion away from Sijzi's problem to a generalized depiction of *sama*, Nasiruddin on the other hand, dwells on the spiritual inadequacies of Qalander, concluding that even the accommodation he has made between ascetical and creative impulses is ill founded and unacceptable. Though part of the difference in tone between these two passages should be imputed to the uneven talents of their respective authors, one cannot rule out the profound effect and influence that the socio-economic condition of the periods they

represent had on these individuals, and all who attended the *khanqahs*. It is true that Sijzi excelled as a poet and a Sufi, whilst Hamid Qalander languished on both counts³⁴ but the content of the passage still however shows the thinking pattern of both authors.

Nizamuddin explained *sama* and its importance in a generalized way, whereas Nasiruddin explained it on a one to one basis. It can be seen that there is a basic difference in the approach of the saints. Nizamuddin was a visionary whose ambitions were focused on the institutionalization of the Chishti silsila. Nasiruddin, on the other hand, was struggling to save, consolidate or follow the institution established by his master. On the pages of the *Khair-ul-Majalis* there are many stories about problems rooted in poor economic condition. It has been, in the words of Nizami, “soaked in pessimism and frustration”. On the other hand Nizamuddin hardly mentions such problems, clearly financial woes were not as prevalent during his time.

Although, as we have seen, Sufis resisted mingling with high-ranking officials and rulers, Nizamuddin and Nasiruddin weren’t totally untouched by prominent figureheads of their time. Yet, the response and actions from the two saints differed. Whilst Nizamuddin firmly resisted pressure from the *ulema* and the State, Nasiruddin swayed, and buckling under pressure he made

³⁴ Nizami, K.A., in introduction to “*Khair-ul-Majalis*”, p.6.

modifications based on the objections of his opponents. The following describes the situation that Nasiruddin faced which culminated in the institution of the *khanqah* being threatened during his *khilafatship*, which would have caused a mood of uncertainty and instability during his era, especially amongst the thousands who patronized the many *khanqahs* in and around Delhi. During Nasiruddin's time, a religious reform movement started by Ibn Taimiya, found a place in the Sultanate. Muhammad bin Tughlaq was one of the followers of the Ibn Taimiya movement. Ibn Taimiya (1267-1328) of Egypt, was against *khanqah* life, and he sent his disciples to preach in India. The Taimiya movement found a supporter in Tughlaq who was keen to bind the Sufis to the State chariot to increase their political power, something which the Chishtis in particular looked upon as a serious interference in their own affairs. Because of this there were major tensions between Nasiruddin and Muhammad bin Tughlaq, which were exacerbated by previous tensions between Tughlaq's predecessor Ghyasuddin Tughlaq, who was unsuccessful in obtaining Nizamuddin's support. Ibn Taimiya's ambitious protégé, Imam Abdul Aziz Ardbeli, visited the court of the Muhammad bin Tughlaq, who was so deeply impressed by Ardbeli's oration that he kissed his feet.³⁵ Muhammad Tughlaq

³⁵ Quoted by K.A. Nizami from Alberuni's Rehla in "On History and Historians of Medieval India."

hence assisted him in checking what they called, anti-Islamic practices, which put a tremendous amount of pressure on Nasiruddin and his order.

One can get a sense of the economic status of both the Khalji and Tughlaq periods in the *Fawaid-ul-Fuad* and *Khair-ul-Majalis*. A reading of the *Fawaid-ul-Fuad* gives one a feeling of satisfaction, a taste of happiness and sign of prosperity, whilst on the pages of the *Khair-ul-Majalis* there are many stories about economic distress. Nasiruddin lived in Delhi during both regimes and experienced the economic structure from both periods from the point of view of the common man. In one assembly he compared the prices of goods between the two periods – of Alauddin Khalji and Firoz Shah Tughlaq. He says that goods during Khalji's time were very cheap³⁶ and then explained his argument with these statistics:

<i>Wheat</i>	7.5 jitals/maund
<i>Sugar</i>	.5 dirham
<i>Ordinary sugar</i>	1 jital/maund
<i>Cloth and other articles were also cheap.</i> ³⁷	

His reference to these ‘minor things’ in detail shows his concern about the common people and their hardships. If there was over all prosperity, as

³⁶ “*Khair-ul-Majalis*”, p.185 and 240

³⁷ Ibid., p.185

purported by Afif and Barani, it is unlikely he would have addressed these issues in detail.

Alauddin Khalji has been projected as an imperialist and ambitious king by contemporary writers like Barani and Afif. They have depicted Alauddin as a “godless” king. The *Khair-ul-Majalis* describes Khalji in quite a contrasting manner. The so-called imperialist and cruel monarch, who abandoned Jalaluddin Khalji’s theory of benevolence and humanitarianism,³⁸ is depicted as a very popular king. The *Khair-ul-Majalis* asserts that the people of Delhi had a very high opinion of Alauddin Khalji, particularly due to his social welfare initiatives, which no contemporary historian tells us, and which created a place for him in the hearts of people. Nasiruddin says that after Khalji’s death, people would visit his grave and tie threads on it in order to get their prayers granted by God.³⁹ Nasiruddin himself had deep respect for the Sultan and used to add ‘Rahmat-ullah alaihe’ (May the blessing of God be on him)⁴⁰ with his name.

There are two opinions about the market policy of Alauddin Khalji. One led by historians like Ziauddin Barani who asserts that it was instituted because Khalji wished to recruit a large army to check the Mongol’s aggression and

³⁸ Chandra, Satish, “Medieval India: From Sultan to the Mughals” p.76.

³⁹ “*Khair-ul-Majalis*”, p. 241.

⁴⁰ Ibid p.241.

expand his empire,⁴¹ and that the market reforms were part of Khalji's general policy to impoverish the Hindus so that they would cease to harbour thoughts of rebellion.⁴²

The other opinion can be derived from the *malfuzaat*. In fact the *Khair-ul-Majalis* provides a range of reasons for the implementation of Khalji's market policy. Those discussing this market policy within the *khanqah* would have viewed Barani's 'impoverished Hindus' justification as illogical. Nasiruddin's account exemplifies this. The following piece of information was gathered from a close noble of Khalji, Qazi Hamiduddin Malik-ut-Tujjar. Nasiruddin and Hamiduddin were gathered in Awadh for dinner, and Hamiduddin relayed his conversation with Khalji. This excerpt is based on the discussion that Hamiduddin had with Khalji regarding the Sultan's policies and his subjects:

"...The Sultan said: Listen! For sometime my mind in exercised over a problem. I say to myself: O thou! God has placed thee over so many people. Something should be done for the benefit of all mankind. I asked myself as to what should I do: If I distribute all the treasures that I have and even if these are multiplied ten times and are given to the people, it will not suffice for all people; If I distribute land - villages and vilayats - it will not reach all. I was brooding over this problem as what to do for the benefit of all people. This moment an idea has come to my mind. I mention it to you. I told to myself that I should reduce the price of grain, which would benefit all people. And how the prices of corn can be brought down? I

⁴¹ Chandra, Satish, "Medieval India: From Sultan to the Mughals" p.81

⁴² Ibid. pp81-82.

will issue an order that all those naiks who bring corn to the city from all sides be summoned. Some of them bring ten thousand bull-loads and some twenty thousand. I will summon them and give them robes and silver from treasury and will give them the expenses of their houses and ask them to bring corn and sell it at the price that I fix." So he gave orders accordingly. Corn came from all sides. Within a few days its price came down to seven jitals a mound...⁴³

Unlike Barani's argument - controlling potential Mongol invasion and punishing Hindus - this story gives a completely different picture. Hamiduddin tells Nasiruddin how much the Sultan was disturbed that he was not able to serve his subjects well, and it was this concern for his people's welfare that led to the birth of the market reform policy. This argument has proven valid by the Sultan's popularity among his subjects. Nasiruddin condoned Khalji's market policy as such that he blessed him and said, "*may God bless his soul.*"⁴⁴

According to *malfazaat*, social relations between Sufis and citizens were by and large harmonious. The Sufi ideology of humanism and brotherhood, accepting everyone without exception, was a way of removing sin and suffering from society and further strengthened the bonds they had with people. Nizamuddin's relations with non-Muslims was determined by two basic postulates of his social outlook. First that all human beings are the children of

⁴³ "Khair-ul-Majalis", p. 241.

⁴⁴ Ibid p. 242.

God on earth.⁴⁵ And second, that one should adopt the ways of God in his dealings with human beings.⁴⁶ As the bounties of God - sun, rain and earth - do not discriminate and are available to all, a human should not discriminate when serving others. Sufis were such broadminded and loving leaders, an astounding antithesis to their *ulema* brothers, that people worshipping non-Muslim gods can be read about in their discourses. One morning Nizamuddin was walking on the roof of his *Jamaat khana*. On looking down he found Hindus worshiping idols on the bank of the river Jumna. He remarked: “*Har qaum raast rahi dineh wo qibleh ghahi*”.⁴⁷ (All people have a religion and a house of worship). An orthodox Muslim would have criticized, if not forcibly stopped, the ‘pagan’ or un-Islamic practice in their neighborhood, but Nizamuddin had the grace and acceptance to not only comment that every one has his own way of practicing religion, but even explained the importance of tolerance. The above excerpt also tells us that non-Muslim idol worship was alive and practicing at the door of the *khanqah*, and Nizamuddin pleads to his followers to learn from them rather than shun them.

Issues such as equality, the status of women, the rights of the less privileged – all concerns that are reflected in the Prophet’s message – were

⁴⁵ “*Fawa'id-ul-Fuad*”

⁴⁶ “*Khair-ul-Majalis*”, pp.106-107.

⁴⁷ “*Ibid.*

diluted and generally not in practice during the Sultanate period. For example, it took several measures to liberate women from age-old norms of repression and exploitation, but even after 700 years of revolutionary measures, people of the Islamic state of Delhi could not break through their traditional outlook. The birth of a girl child was not appreciated, and there were many problems relating to the marriage of girls. But there are also some instances of women gaining recognition for worthwhile work. Information of this kind can only be sourced from *malfuzaat*. There is one such woman whom Nizamuddin discussed in his *khanqah* which was recorded in the *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*. This woman was known as Fatima. Baba Farid, Nizamuddin's spiritual master, had a very high opinion of her. Here is a piece of the discussion in which Nizamuddin mentions his master's words of praise for this woman:

"... began to comment on numerous benefits that accrue from the virtue of women. He called to a woman from Indraprasth named Fatima. She had been such a model of chastity and virtue that Shaikh-ul-Islam Fariduddin- may God sanctify his lofty secret - used to say repeatedly of her: "That woman is a man whom the creator has sent to earth in the bodily form of a woman!"⁴⁸

There are two points of note in this passage. A woman visiting a *khanqah* shows that even women had faith in the *khanqah* as a place they could go to and be listened to and given counsel. The second point of note is the perception of

⁴⁸ As discussed by B. B. Lawrence in "Fawaaid-ul-Fuad", p.103

women in that society. Baba Farid compares Fatima's work to a man's, as a man in the bodily form of a woman. Fatima, a virtuous woman doing a commendable job is described as a man, as if only men are capable of doing good work. This shows the typical mentality of the period and it's thinking about women, even amongst the most arguably liberal and broadminded community of people during that time. Indeed, Baba Farid was expressing the current attitude towards women whilst addressing the masses.

In contrast, a Sufi's attitude regarding woman can be seen with an analysis of the following excerpt from the *Fawa'id-ul-Fuad*:

*"...The master then declared that dervishes who ask saintly women and saintly men to intercede on their behalf should invoke saintly women first.... 'When a wild lion comes into an inhabited area from the forest', he explained, 'no one asks: 'is it male or female?' Similarly, the sons of Adam, whether they be men or women, must devote themselves to obedience and piety."*⁴⁹

In this anecdote, Nizamuddin clearly states that gender is irrelevant, that apart from biological and physical differences, there are no difference between men and women. That the practice of spiritualism and virtuous living have nothing to do with biological differences. This was quite radical thinking of the time regarding the emancipation of woman. Even as early as the fourteenth

⁴⁹ Ibid.

century, we come across a man spreading the message of gender equality, and praising the female, a rarity in the patriarchal society of the sultanate.

Marriage of a girl was also one of the pressing concerns for the masses during this period. The visitor, referred to in the last chapter, who was in trouble because he had ‘four girls and no money to marry them’, is an indicator of a couple of issues of the era. One, that expenditure in marriage may include dowry, which for Muslims was an unusual feature of the marriage ritual, and two, the birth of girls was not celebrated.

Expenditure relating to the marriage of a girl was a social problem, as can be seen in the following story, which also supports the earlier hypotheses of the position of girls in society. An old man called Malih, had come with his several daughters. Only one of them was married.

“... Malih who was an old man of mine, brought a number of daughters to see the master... “What is this?” “One of his daughter has just married,” I replied... “Everyone who has one daughter enjoys a barrier against Hell, and you have four!” the master said “The father of daughters is well endowed.”⁵⁰

Nizamuddin heard Malih with full concentration to his problem. After listening to him, and as per his approach, he generalized the issue related to having girls. His long discussion on this issue wrapped up with a concluding

⁵⁰ Ibid. p.103, Facile Four, Assembly 41.

remark about the importance of having daughters. He gave them a religious reason why one should be happy and proud of being a father of a daughter (“barrier against Hell”). As many Islamic rituals were intended to boost the individual’s chances of an after-life in heaven, Nizamuddin meant that having a daughter is more beneficial than sons in relation to the “other world”, that is, life after death. This is a good example of Nizamuddin’s endeavour to solve a social problem with religious reasoning which the supplicant could relate to.

Quoting his master Baba Farid, Nizamuddin once gave his followers a lecture on the importance of being like a pious and elderly woman:

‘Every sorrow and pain that befalls a person he should know, or try to know its source’. Then the master told a story of a pious, elderly woman, about whom Shaikh Fariduddin had told him. She would say repeatedly that: “If a thorn pricks my foot, I know from where it comes.”⁵¹

He then reiterated how much the Prophet respected women, and spoke about the Prophet for whom three things were most dear - perfume, women and a touch of collyrium in prayer.⁵² The plight of women then in the sultanate period was urgent and considered by Sufis as a priority, and as it can be seen through these extracts, they were sincerely trying to solve it.

⁵¹ Ibid., p.333.

⁵² Ibid.

Despite the unconventional status ascribed to Fatima, and Nizamuddin's promotion of women to have equal status of men, women still held a very traditional position in the sultanate period. In the following anecdote a group of women have been depicted carrying out traditional duties filling their pitchers with water from a tank. However this menial task was considered by the Sufi dervish as an exhilarating experience, close to "spiritual bliss". The *dervish* told of his experience in Gujarat to Nizamuddin:

*"A dervish who has gone to Gujrat narrated this. In Gujrat he met a mystic overpowered by ecstasy. He stayed with him. One night he went to a tank for ablution. The guardian of the tank did not allow anyone to step in but since he had some acquaintance there, he was allowed. A number of women were standing there with pitchers. An old woman asked him to fill her pitcher. Then one after other several women gave their pitchers to him and he filled them all. When he returned to his cell, he found the mystic fast asleep. As soon he started prayer, he woke up and shouted: "Why all this fuss? Real work (of spiritual bliss) was to fill pitchers of women."*⁵³

According to the *malfuzaat*, life for common people was relatively hard during this era. They were dying of hunger, there was no social security, and we read that government employees were cruel to the common man.⁵⁴

"Nobody in this world" says Nizamuddin, "has as many sorrows and worries as I have. So many people come to me and tell me about their worries, which make my heart bleed.

⁵³ "Fawaaid ul-Fuad" p.103, p176.

⁵⁴ Ibid.p. 147

How can a man listen to so many worries and remain unaffected? "⁵⁵ He further adds, "This morsel sticks in my throat when I think that in the streets of Delhi and on the balconies of shops, some people are sleeping who have not taken anything last night?"^{⁵⁶}

In the heart of the Delhi sultanate, the condition of Nizamuddin's people was far from ideal. Nizamuddin's concern would have been heightened with his awareness of the poor conditions amidst the self-asserted 'egalitarian' and religious Delhi sultanate. Delhi was the capital of a kingdom whose kings related themselves with the Caliph and at times would receive robes of honour from Baghdad, the seat of Caliph. They often cited religious justifications to their plans and policies. Islam dictates that any follower of its doctrine, ruler or subject, is required to spend at least 2½% of their earnings on the poor around them, and it is a well known principle of the religion that one should not eat before checking that their neighbours have something to eat first^{⁵⁷}.

In a society of inequality, corruption flows. It seems during the life and time of Nasiruddin corruption was common. This is articulated in the *Khair-ul-Majalis*. Nasiruddin was in pains to witness corruption and gave many such sermons on living an honest and dignified life:

Livelihood should be earned through strictly honest means.^{⁵⁸}

Businessmen should be honest in their dealings, and should never utter lies.^{⁵⁹}

^{⁵⁵} Ibid. p.207.

^{⁵⁶} Ibid. p.207.

^{⁵⁷} Holy Quran, Surah 4th/162 p231.

^{⁵⁸} "Khair-ul-Majalis", p. 91.

*Profiteering leads to ruin.*⁶⁰

*A man should be an honest and trustee.*⁶¹

Nasiruddin's sermons on corruption were relevant to his preaching on violence. In a corrupt and discriminative society, violence is inevitable. Both saints showed a concern about violence in society, and their comments about staying calm and suppressing anger indicated that many people visited the saints with violence and anger-related problems. Nizamuddin said:

*"If a man places a thorn in your way and you place another in his way, there will be thorns everywhere".*⁶²

He advised his disciples to be good even to their enemies, and recite the following verses of Shaikh Saifuddin Bakharzi when their natural tendencies would get the better of them:

*"He who is not my friend, may God be his friend, and he who bears any ill against me, may his joys increase. He who puts thorns on my path on account of enmity, may every flower that blossom in the garden of his life be without thorns."*⁶³

Nizamuddin's discourses on the practice of pacifism and non-violence were a tonic for perturbed followers. There are several instances when he talked

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 95.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 95.

⁶¹ Ibid p. 209.

⁶² "Fawa'id-ul-Fuad", 35th assembly of 2nd fascicule, 26 rabi-al-awwalah, 712, p147.

⁶³ "Fawa'id-ul-Fuad", 17th assembly of 4th fascicule, 16th sumad-al-akhirah, 715, p237

about forgiveness and large heartedness as the supreme talisman for human happiness. In one instance he said:

"If one man vents his wrath on another and the second man is patient, the vivacious attitude belongs to him who is patient and not to the one who gives vent to his wrath".⁶⁴

He advised his disciples to suppress anger and channel it through positive thought and action.

"Forgive the person who has committed a wrong and thus eliminate your anger" was his advice.⁶⁵

One day a person addressed him:

"People speak ill of you from the pulpits and elsewhere, we cannot bear hearing it any longer". The Shaikh replied, "I forgive them all. You too should forgive them."⁶⁶

Forgiveness rather than retribution was the way to peace and happiness in social relations.

The above quotes are only a few of many discourses where non-violence has been emphasized, which would indicate a concern for the intensity of violence during the sultanate period.

Environmental concerns it seems were a topic of concern even as far back as the fourteenth century. Replying to a question of the master, Sijzi comments

⁶⁴ "Siyar-ul-Auliya", p552.

⁶⁵ "Siyar-ul-Auliya", p552.

⁶⁶ "Fawaid-ul-Fuad", 17th assembly of 3rd fascicule, 22nd Safar, 713 AH, p163.

in one excerpt from the *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad* that he was coming from the army compound. In response to a second question, he said that he would go to the city once every ten to twelve days,⁶⁷ otherwise he stays in the army compound and say congregational prayer at the Kilogarhi mosque. To this Nizamuddin replied:

*"That is the right thing to do, since the air is better in the army compound than in the city, and the city is also filthy"*⁶⁸

Interestingly, this conversation points towards an environmental condition of fourteenth century Delhi, and its comparison with the suburban area of the military cant.

The author is cogniscent that he has only barely touched on *malfazaat* texts as a history source, yet it is clear that even from the information in this one chapter, *malfazaat* are not just religious texts for those wanting to learn about Sufism, or those already practicing Sufism to utilise as a guide book. Apart from discourses relating to religious and spiritual practice, we came across a vast array of information from slavery and gender equality, to economics and the environment, and we can see that there was little disturbance in the social fabric of the common people due to changes in government, and issues within

⁶⁷ Ibid, p.211

⁶⁸ Ibid, p.211

the courts of kings. Books written during the sultanate period by authors such as Afif and Barani discuss life during that period, but to what degree are they narrowly focused on a minority elitist population that we are left with a biased view of society during the era? The next chapter reviews some key texts of the sultanate period as a contrast to *malfuzaat*, and will show that *malfuzaat* must be considered as supplementary reading to these texts for a more rounded view of this period.

4. REFLECTION OF INDIAN SOCIETY IN OTHER ACCOUNTS

It is important to understand just what information is available to us written during the sultanate period in addition to the Persian *malfuzaat*. To try and learn about medieval Indian society without first referring to the *Kitab-ul Hind* of Alberuni is like visiting Agra without seeing the Taj Mahal. Alberuni was the first scientific Indologist, and one of the greatest of all times.¹ The original name of *Kitab-ul Hind* of Abu Raihan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni is *Kitab fi Tahqiq maa lil Hind min Maqala Maqbool fil Aql ao Mardhula*. In this book he has covered almost all the important aspects of Indian society of his time. But unlike the *malfuz* writers, he deals with topics related to scholarly discussion such as soul, paradise and hell, *moksha* (salvation), judicial system, and taxation. He also discusses the political situation at the time of his patron Mahmud Ghazni's invasion of India.

Similarly other medieval writers like Minhaj Siraj, Zaiuddin Barani, Shams Afif and Futuhat Isami deal on topics related to academic parlance and political interests of the ruling dynasty. For example, Zaiuddin Barani's accounts so focused on court issues, that they cannot be relied on for

¹ S.K. Chatterji, 'Al-Beruni and Sanskrit', Alberuni Commemoration Volume, 1951. Quoted by Qeyamuddin Ahmad, India by Al-Biruni, p.xvi

comprehensive socio-cultural detail of the period. In contrast to the sympathetic attitude of the Sufi saints towards the deprived sections of society, in Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*² and *Fatwah-i-Jahandari* we encounter an insensitive and unsympathetic attitude towards these same people. Barani was so critical of the lower classes, that he did not deem them even fit for proper education.

The condemnation by Ziauddin Barani of Indian converts to Islam, or those who descended from the early converts, suggests that these converts had started competing with members of the aristocratic families of early immigrants from Central Asia and other Islamic countries for posts in the State service. Advocating that the Sultan employ people with aristocratic backgrounds, Barani advises that the children of lowborn converts to Islam should not be admitted into *madarsahs* because this education would qualify them for government jobs³. Further he implies that only noble families had been chosen by God to rule mankind, and that their existence was necessary for the maintenance of justice and stability in society.⁴

² I am highly grateful to Dr. A.A. Ahan who gave me his personal collection of Persian manuscripts including the manuscripts of Ziauddin Barani's *Tarikh-I-Firoz Shahi*

³ Barani, Ziauddin, *Fatwah-I-Jahandari*

⁴ Afser Begum and Muhammad Habib's article on *Fatawa-I-Jahandari* in Medieval Indian Quarterly, Aligarh, 1958.

When Barani makes mention of the commoner, they are discussed in a patronising manner, and an *alim* by practice, Barani would have been well aware of the egalitarian teachings of the Prophet. A promoter of the elite class, he is full of praise for Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban for his considering noble birth a prerequisite for State service, citing the case of a certain Kamal Mahiyar whom the nobles took to the Sultan as a candidate for the Khwajgi (post of accountant) of Amroha. The Sultan rejected him because his father had been a low-caste convert to Islam.⁵ This shows the thinking pattern of the elite society.

Though Alberuni did not show such critical and unsympathetic attitude towards the second classes, his writing definitely concentrated on topics related to the elite. Alberuni learnt Sanskrit at Banaras to help him understand subjects related to Brahmins, and one can find chapters dedicated to Patanjali's concept of *moksha*. Regarding the concept of *moksha* (liberation), Alberuni states the general Hindu belief that ignorance is the one thing that holds people back from knowledge, and therefore the Brahmin can only attain *moksha* through knowledge.⁶

⁵ Barani, Ziauddin, "Tarikh-I-Firoz Shahi", p.36.

⁶ India by Alberuni, translated by Edward C. Sachau's,

In the *Tabqat-i-Nasari*, Minhaj Siraj writes history from the time of the Prophet Muhammad until Nasiruddin Mahmud, son and successor of Iltutmish. He talks about the reorganization of administration, and discusses Bakhtiyar Khalji's capture of Lakhnuti in the reign of Muizzuddin Ghori. He praises him as "a man of impetus, enterprising, intrepid, bold, sagacious and expert in warfare". His account is replete with such incidents but one finds little related to the masses.⁷

Since these authors were historians employed by the court, they wrote in accordance with the interests of the Sultan. Shams Siraj Afif, a historian in the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq, dedicated much writing to his employer Firoz Tughlaq's irrigation project and digging of canals, and he describes in detail the fruits of the Sultan's canal project. In the same way, Barani discusses trade and its effect on the State treasury. Foreign merchants who came in caravans over the land routes with merchandise for sale in India returned loaded with Indian products. This boost in trade encouraged diversity in tastes and suggested ideas for the modification and improvement of old and indigenous crafts.⁸ There was a strong school of history writing in Persian at that time but it was confined to historians of the Barni and Afifi school of thought.

⁷ Satish Chandra, Medieval India: From Sultanate to Mughal, p.43

⁸ See Ziauddin Barani, "Tarikh-I-Firoz Shahi", pp. 57-59.

Alberuni who had come with the army of Mamud Ghazni⁹, gives a detailed account of the taxation and judicial system, which was prevalent in India at the time of his visit. He says that written complaints containing the well-established proof of the justice of the suit were generally demanded by the judges. In case there was no written document, the contest was settled by means of witnesses. The number of witnesses must not be less than four¹⁰. If the suitor was not able to prove his claim, the defendant must swear. There were many kind of oaths, in accordance with the value of the object of the claim. In the absence of witnesses, the accused were given poisonous drinks or thrown into a river, or red-hot piece of iron was placed in his hand. If he were not a culprit he would remain unharmed in all these case.¹¹

These kinds of historical texts do mention women, marriage and widows, but in the context of the elite class. The following is an excerpt from Alberuni's *Kitab-ul-Hindm* where he writes about marriage, but this system of marriage was taken from the Brahminical text and is applicable to only a few.

"The Hindus marry at a very young age; therefore the parents arrange the marriage for their sons. On the occasion the Brahmanas perform the rites

⁹ Mahmud Ghazni was a ruler of Ghazni who plundered India several times.

¹⁰ "India by Alberuni", translated by Edward C. Sachau's, p. 243.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 244.

of the sacrifices, and they as well as others receive alms. The implements of the wedding rejoicings are brought forward.¹²

Husband and wife can only be separated by death, as they have no divorce.¹³

A man may have one to four wives. He is not allowed to take more than four; but if one of his wives dies, he may take another one to complete the legitimate number. However he must not go beyond it.¹⁴

According to their marriage law it is better to marry a stranger than a relative. The more distant the relationship of a woman with regard to her husband the better. It is absolutely forbidden to marry related women both of direct descending line, viz. a granddaughter or great granddaughter, and of the direct ascending line, viz. a mother, grandmother, or great-grandmother. It is also forbidden to marry collateral relations, viz. a sister, a niece, a maternal or paternal aunt and their daughters.¹⁵

If a wife loses her husband by death, she cannot marry another man. She has only to choose between two things - either to remain a widow as long as she lives or to burn herself; and the latter eventually is considered the preferable, because as a widow she is ill-treated as long as she lives.¹⁶

¹² Ibid, p.239

¹³ Ibid, p.240

¹⁴ Ibid, p.240

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 240

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 240

Regarding the wives of kings, they are in the habit of burning them, whether they wish it or not, by which they desire to prevent any of them by chance committing something unworthy of the illustrious husband.¹⁷

All the above mentioned social codes are related to *divja*¹⁸ (twice-born), and only refer to a select group of people. Barani's book talks a lot about astrology, astronomy and other Vedic maths, which were not practised by the common people. In the *malfuzaat*, the Shaikh discuss topics of relevance to everyone. In the previous chapter, Nizamuddin and Nasiruddin were discussing the problem regarding the marriage of girls from poor families, where Alberuni's marriage discussion is confined to rituals related to marriage only. The way they look at a problem is interesting to note. One is dealing about the issue at a socio-economic level where as the other is dealing on a religious level. Alberuni is dealing with a Brahmin problem from a religious point of view and telling us about the various forbidden and permissible matches marriage. He says that 'more distant the relationship of a woman with regard to her husband the better'.

Alberuni also talks about idol worship. He says that image worship was universally prevalent and there were numerous temples and sacred tanks all

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 240

¹⁸ According to the Brahmanical scripture, a man born twice, one at the time of coming on this earth and other at the time of initiation to the Brahmanical fold through. They wear *janew*, a sacred thread. In the beginning all the three upper caste but now only Brahmans use it.

over the country. He has admired the superb stone-terraces around sacred tanks. He refers to the practice of killing sheep and buffaloes by the worshippers. The idols, according to him, were constructed according to certain measures determined by idols fingers for every single limb.¹⁹ Here he is not only talking about ‘idol worship’ but telling about superb stone-terraces around the tanks. This is a typical elite mentality. It also shows his concern of structures rather than people, more interested in noting the temples and beautifully curved out idols, than the idol worshippers themselves. He chose not to write about people dying of hunger, rather bout sacrifices of sheep at temples. He gives minute details like ‘measures determined by idols fingers for every single limb’. He has also discussed in detail about the political condition of India at the time of his arrival.

Alberuni says that the whole country was divided into a number of states often at war among themselves. The leading kingdoms according to him were Kashmir, Sind, Malwa and Kanauj. Speaking about the Hindu Sahiya dynasty, he mentions that it had by that time become extinct and of the whole house there was no longer the slightest remnant in existence. In the words of Alberuni, “we must say that in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the

¹⁹ “India by Alberuni”, translated by Edward C. Sachau’s,p 125.

ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing”²⁰. Referring to the absence of political revolutions, he observes “The philosophical and religious spirit of the Hindu made him supremely indifferent to political revolutions, consequently deprived him of that energy and capacity for practical action”. The vast bulk of the Indian people, therefore allowed their numerous invaders to pass, and when the Muslims came to India people adopted an attitude of similar indifference. The warrior class of India, unrivalled in the history of the world, for its chivalry and devotion to war, truth and honour, was torn by dissensions and could never present a united front to the foreigners.

With the advent of the Khaljis in Delhi, far reaching changes took place in state policies with regard to the recruitment of officers. The Khalji Sultans had no protections to noble lineage or past glory. This became a cause of criticism by contemporary historians. Barani was especially harsh in his writings during this period, as the doors of official opportunity were thrown open to all, and race, birth and even creed ceased to be all-important criteria.²¹

²⁰ Ibid ,p.167.

²¹ Siddiqui, Iqtidar Husain, “The nobility under the Khalji Sultans”, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, January 1963. p.55.

Under Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji (1290-1296),²² a Hindu chief who belonged to the Mandahar tribe was honoured with the post of Vakili-I-dar (Minister in charge of arranging ceremony at court).²³ Alauddin Khalji²⁴ continued and even extended the policy introduced by his uncle Jalaluddin Khalji. Alauddin Khalji's reign can be divided into three phases, and Barani says that the last phase was dominated by lowborn officers.

*"The last part of the Alauddin's reign lasted for four or five years. In these years the Sultan remained unwell, and the whole administration was conducted by Malik Kafur. All the important posts were held by incident and lowborn persons... With the ascendancy of low-born shiqdars and officers, the whole administration was disturbed and the people suffered."*²⁵ How can one rely on Barani about true story of the society as he always spoke against gave him.

It is interesting to note that Sultan Balban's son, Prince Muhammad, who held the trans-Sutlej territories under his charge, valued knowledge and talent

²² Jalaluddin Firoz Khalji replaced Kaiqubad, grandson of Balban, in 1290 and led the foundation of the Khalji dynasty. Alauddin Khalji assassinated him in Kara in 1296. He was a very liberal and kindhearted ruler of the Sultanate period.

²³ Barani, Ziauddin, *Tarikh-I-Firoz Shahi*, pp.194-5.

²⁴ Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316) was the greatest Khalji Sultan. Being a visionary and highly ambitious, he introduced market policy to control the market so that he can maintain huge army. He also introduced cash payment to the army personal so that they can concentrate on their assignment properly.

²⁵ Barani, Ziauddin, *Tarikh-I-Firoz Shahi*, pp.336-7.

more than anything else, and noble birth reputedly had no significance for him.²⁶

Balban's immediate predecessor, his grandson, Sultan Kaikubad (1287-90), also seems to have no prejudice against people on the ground of birth, for Barani includes Kamal Mahiyar's son in the list of the high nobles of his reign.²⁷

With the employment of people from the lowborn people, social mobility started. The mobility in the rank of lowborn people created tension among the elite class. Social mobility's effect was so high that an Indian convert Muslim became king of the Delhi Sultanate. This incident has been recorded by historians of that period with anger. Finally in 1320, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq removed and killed him. When every one was opposing him, Nizamuddin stood with him by accepting his gift. In fact the social stratification that had resulted from the political domination of Muslim immigrant families, which monopolized key positions both in the civil and military administration, could not last long. The progress of learning, expansion and consolidation of the central authority, cultural influences and such as those of the Sufis, and employed skilled craftsmen in the royal *karkhanas*, paved the

²⁶ Ibid, p.68

²⁷ Ibid, p. 68.

way for the rise of people from unprivileged families of the society. The consolidation and expansion of the Sultan's authority in the provinces created the need for a large number of educated people to carry on administrative work. The old aristocratic families could no longer supply sufficient officers to meet these needs.

As we can see, on the pages of historical text things related to palaces and nobles have been covered in detail. Whereas in *malfuzaat*, things related to public consumption have been covered. Under the influence of saints and with the demand of the time, the ministerial posts of a religious and quasi-religious nature, such as those of the chief qazi (chief justice), called Quzzat-I-Mamalik, and Sadr-us Sudur (Minister for theological affairs), called Sadre-I-Jahan, could be entrusted to the charge of those educated people who had no claim to noble descent, although these posts had been the exclusive privilege of the members of certain old respectable families of Shaikh and Saiyids. These steps of liberal kings have been criticised severely by historians.

Criticizing Alauddin Khalji's policy with regard to the appointment of officers, Barani suggests that the offices of Quzzat and Sadr-i-Jahan could only be held by learned men belonging to certain noble families who commanded respect in the country for their piety and learning. Sultan Alauddin Khalji had

followed this tradition in the beginning of his reign; Qazi Sadruddin Arif, the father of the Daud Malik and grandson of the daughter of Sadr-i-Jahn Minhaj Juzjani (the author of *Tabaqat-I-Nasari*) was given joint charge of both offices.²⁸ But by that time he realized that to rule country he needed to include everyone. In reading Barani, one can ascertain that he was disappointed with the way that Alauddin Khalji broke away from the tradition in the later part of his reign. He says that ‘during the last phase of Sultan Alauddin Khalji’s reign, the Quzzat of the empire that was in every way an important and lofty position and for which no one but the member of a well-established family of noble descent, traditionally known for learning and religiosity could be considered fit, was entrusted to Malik-utTujjar (Chief of the merchants), Hamiduddin Multani. The latter had served in the royal household as Pardahdar (in charge of curtain) and Kuliddar (keeper of the keys). Any mention of this Malik-ut-Tujjar (Hamid Multani) is not worthy of space in history. Nobody had courage to point out (to the Sultan) that only education and knowledge were not sufficient grounds for appointment to this position.’²⁹

It is of interest that Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Delhi, the contemporary Chishti, had a different and better opinion of the same minister’s good qualities.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 351.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 352.

Hamiduddin is said to have been helpful to scholars and other deserving persons as Sadr, and to have performed the functions of chief justice with honesty and integrity.³⁰ Nasiruddin prays Hamiduddin as a scholar where as Barani did not find a single word of praise for him.

In spite of the opposition from the orthodox, the opportunity of education spread, and this helped to undermine the social barriers created by Muslim immigrant families in the early days of the Delhi Sultanate.

It is also noteworthy that elevation of members of unprivileged families and slaves to higher positions in the army and the administration created favourable conditions for the entry of others of the same class. For example, appointment of Khusrau Khan Parwari as the Naib-I-Sultanat under Sultan Mubarak Shah Khalji (1317-20) paved the way for short-lived ascendancy of the Hindu Parwaris of Gujrat at the imperial court.³¹

The most important period in this respect, marked by a remarkable example of upward mobility in the nobility, was during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq (1325-51). Barani mentions many lowborn persons whom Muhammad bin Tughlaq raised to important positions in the empire. The

³⁰ Qalander, Hamid, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, ed. K.A. Nizami, pp. 88, 241.

³¹ Barani, Ziauddin, *Tarikh-I-Firoz Shahi*, p. 409.

nature of the officers and the posts assigned to them indicates that many of them were educated

There is a passage in the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* which shows how social mobility resulted from the Sultan's unorthodox attitude. Najib, the musician of obscure origin was so highly regarded that superseded the status many of the old nobles and was assigned the charge of Gujrat, Multan and Badaun. Like him, Aziz Khummar and his brother were favoured, and Firoz the barber, Mankah, the cook, Masud Khummar (liquor-brewer), Ladha, the gardener, and many other base and mean people were elevated to important posts and assigned *iqtas*. Shaikh Babu, son of Nayak, the weaver, was made a royal associate.

From the above, we can see that political chronicles, although interesting, were helpful only to a point in terms of reconstructing the cultural history of the period. Their specialties were by and large confined to writing about taxation, military campaigns and other state related information, than the concerns and highlights of the common person. As is exemplified through Barani's reservation against the lowborn people, his accounts highlight the economic condition of the Sultanate period. He has written in detail about the market reform of Alauddin Khalji citing one reason, for which we find a

counter reason in Nasiruddin's *Khair-ul-Majalis*. These historians appear to not only have meager information on the masses, but very little interest on these people. That these writers largely came from Brahmin and noble classes, it is no surprise that they were unconcerned with those 'under' them. This discriminative attitude was deep seated during the sultanate period, and the following chapter discusses the Sufi and Bhakti movements in a comparative light, and it will be seen that both movements provided an opportunity for the emancipation of these deprived people.

5. The Teachings of Bhakti and Sufi saints: A Comparative Study

India in the medieval ages saw a silent revolution brought about by a vibrant and radical group of socio-religious reformers, and from the period of 10th century onwards, religion took a turn with a burst of spirituality via these reformers. These reformers had a deep devotion to God, and belonged to two very different faiths: Islam and Hinduism. Sufi mystics were born out of Islam, and the Bhakti mystics born out of Hinduism. Although these mystics plunged into contemplation and meditation, they had a strong influence and rapport with the common man. Though the two religions were far apart in terms of their doctrine, they had much in common. They were not a part of their respective orthodox groups. Both the orthodox Brahmins of the Hindu faith and the orthodox *ulema* of the Islamic tenets, although they learnt each word of the scriptures - the Vedas, Upanishads and the Quran - it seemed they lacked the appreciation of the core essence of its message. However the mystics of both these religions touched the hearts and souls of the common man, emphasizing the importance of 'Knowledge'¹, which was imparted by their messengers (*Gurus*² and *Pirs*),

¹ See footnote 10 of Chapter 1, "A Brief Historical Account of Sufism".

² The term "Guru" means one who brings light into the darkness. If we split the word 'guru' (gu + ru) where 'gu' means darkness and 'ru' means light.

and as such, the Bhakti and Sufi saints have contributed to the making of a particularly charismatic religious history.

The teachings of the Bhakti and Sufi saints had much in common which can be traced back from different ages in various regions, and though both movements were not of the same period, they were for some time contemporary. Introduction of Sufism in India began around the eleventh century, though it had been active outside India from the tenth century. Sufi saints such as Muinuddin Chishti were responsible for bringing Sufism to India around the same period as the Muslim conquest. The Bhakti movement, which was highly influenced by Buddhism, was a combination of Hinduism and Buddhism, and the birth of Bhakti can be attributed to Sankaracharya melding the best of both faiths in the eighth century in south India, spreading to north India during the twelfth century after the decline of Buddhism in this area.

The regions where they preached were different. Sufism was concentrated in north India, their Suhrawardy *silsila* located in Punjab, Sind and Bengal, the Chishti *silsila* in Delhi and the Doab region, and the Firdausi *silsila* centralized in Bihar. Although the Bhakti movement started in south India, it spread all over the north to different regions by different saints.

Therefore they spoke different languages, their methods of teaching were different, but their ideas were synonymous.

Most of the Bhakti and Sufi saints had one ultimate goal, realisation of God for the individual. Bhakti *gurus* and Sufi *pirs* had a strong dislike of ‘blind faith’³ in sacred scriptures, and did not believe in the discriminatory restrictions of caste and creed. For both, rituals and ceremonies were not important, rather the individual’s relationship with the True Master (*gurus* and *pirs*) who could give them the right Knowledge to realize God through their personal devotion to Him. Condemning polytheism, both movements were monotheistic, believing in one God who was the Supreme Being and the Creator.

The concept of Bhakti (devotion) is as old as Hinduism itself. It is one of the three approaches that the Bhagvat Gita⁴ recommends, the other two being Knowledge and action. It became a powerful theory to combat the cold logical theories of the Jains and Buddhists.

³ ‘Blind faith’ here refers to the *Brahmins* and *ulema* who read and learnt every line of the scriptures, yet failed to understand the meaning of a single word. If they would have done so, they would not have placed so much emphasis on rites and rituals, and at the same time discriminating amongst common people who looked up to them for guidance and as role models. Nanak said “*The Vedas tell you of the different between good and evil. Sin is the seed of hell; chastity the seed of paradise. Knowledge and the teachings of Vedas compliment each other; they are to one another as merchandise to merchant*”, Adi Granth, p467.

⁴ The *Bhagvat Gita* is a Hindu text in which describes the “Knowledge” which is imparted by Lord Krishna to Arjuna in the *Kurukshetra*. In this text, Lord Krishna calls the Knowledge as *Raj Vidyā* and explained the *Bhakti marga*, which means devotion to God through love, which one experiences after realizing the God within.

The main principle of Bhakti faith was ‘selfless love’ or ‘devotion’. Rather than supplicating to God for materialistic needs or desire, the saints of this movement stressed that the only means of salvation was selfless love or devotion. This was uninterrupted, single-minded, extreme devotion to God without any material motive. This love for God is best described as similar to the unconditional love a mother has for her child. God’s love was the source of bliss, thus He was at times worshipped by a devotee as his Supreme Beloved. The Bhakti saints, like the Sufis, believed that one need not go to places of worship to realise God, that He resided within the heart of each individual. Each human should thus be respected as a temple of God. There was no pilgrimage better than the heart, as it was the place where the Supreme Being Himself resided.⁵

The Sufi saints believed in oneness with God, and that union with God was the highest stage of Enlightenment, which could be achieved through love of God. To attain such a state, one was required to go through certain stages *Muqama*⁶ and the changing psychological conditions, or states

⁵ Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Delhi quoted Shaikh Ahmad Jami, “*Dil bedast aarad keh haj i-akbar ast, ze hazaar kabe h yek dil behtar ast*”, which formed part of a long sermon which concluded in saying the above verse meaning that bringing solace to a heart which is in great predicament is better than going to Kaba a thousand times. This could only be realized within each individual, and the *Guru* was the instrument who could guide the way.

⁶ It is a classical work on Arabic literature compiled by Abu Muhammad al-Qasim al-Hariri (1054-1122). Nizamuddin Auliya learned the Maqamat of Hariri from Maulana Shamsuddin and committed its forty sections to memory.

(*hal*). Sufi saints asserted that for an individual to attain a closeness with God, which paves the way to salvation, one should do so through service to humanity. Nizamuddin Auliya discussed this theme in one of his discourses, and retold the story of the Prophet Abraham, who would only eat in the company of guests, till one day he found himself in the presence of a single polytheist. Abraham, when he saw that he was alone with a polytheist, did not give him anything to eat. The command then came fourth from God, “*O Abraham, how is it that we can confer life on him [the polytheist] yet you cannot give him bread.*⁷”. This shows that Nizamuddin emphasized the presence of the Absolute Being within each human being, as every individual is the son and daughter of God, then all are equal.

As with Bhakti *gurus*, Sufis believed that closeness with God was made more possible when one had a spiritual master who could channel the ‘Knowledge’ and guide the individual towards the path of self surrender to God. Hence importance was given to the acquisition of a *pir* or the *guru*. From here came the *pir-mureed* and the *guru-shishya parampara* (*Guru-Chela* tradition of Bhakti). It was considered that the Sufi or Bhakti path required the strict guidance of a spiritual master, who had himself clearly understood the Knowledge and had reached the stage where he had direct

⁷ *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*, conversation dated Dhu-al-Hijja 27, 718 A.H. (1319 A.D.).

communion with God. In the *pir-mureed* relation, the *mureed* or the disciple had to progress on the path of practicing self-modification (*mujaheda*)⁸, reciting and recollecting God's name, either through knowledge (*jnana*)⁹, or by concentrating on God's name (*zikr*), contemplation and meditation. In the *guru shishya-parampara*, the *syshya* had to first make himself ready to accept Knowledge. They had to be committed to be on the path of Bhakti for the rest of their life. *Guru's* word for them is the word of God. And in order to thank the *guru* for Knowledge, the *shishya* is ready to do *seva* (service), *satsang* (be in company of holy men) and *bhajan* (to mediate and recite the True Name regularly).

Since these saints wanted to reach the masses who were not accepted by the *ulema* and Brahmins, the Sufis and the Bhakti saints both used local dialects as a means of communication, preached in the form of couplets rather than traditional prose.

The mystics of the two movements were not appreciated by the orthodox *ulema* or Brahmins, as they defied them. Most of the Sufi and Bhakti saints criticized the *ulema* and Brahmin, who kept people in

⁸ The Practice of *mujaheda* (practice of mystic exercise) is the first important and indispensable act on the path of spiritual ascendancy and not mere theological knowledge as imported by the theologians.

⁹ *Jnana* is the Knowledge which is described in the Vedas and Upanishads. This is the same Knowledge which Lord Krishna said "Raj Vidya" meaning the 'king of all Knowledge'. He said that if a human being takes this Knowledge and practices it, even it is the only thing he learns in life, his main purpose is fulfilled.

darkness, and misinterpreted the religious scriptures. Both movements discarded idol worship, blind faith in scriptures, performing *namaz* without understanding the relevance of it, and discriminations of individuals in the name of gender, caste and creed. As rituals were not considered important, service to human beings had much higher spiritual significance than mere formal adherence to rituals and practices. Nizamuddin Auliya said that “Devotion to God is of two kinds: *lazmi* (obligatory) and *mutaaddi* (supererogatory).¹⁰ In *lazmi*, the benefit goes to the devotee alone. This type of devotion includes prayers, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca, recitation of religious formulae, and turning over the beads of the rosary. The *mutaaddi*, by contrast, centred around other’s needs, and is performed by spending money on others, showing affection to people, and generally being considerate. The reward *mutaaddi* is incalculable¹¹. They tried to bridge the gap between the two religions (Hinduism and Islam) by teaching that God was one and the same, even if he was called by different names. Respect of fellow human beings and service to humanity was held in high esteem by both, as Sufism and Bhakti considered individuals as a temple of God.

Music was central to both movements. It was considered to imbibe a mystical state of ecstasy, when one could feel the presence of God. This

¹⁰ *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*, conversation dated Muharram 03, 708 A.H. (1308 A.D.).

¹¹ Ibid..

music was the inner music which is constantly there till the human is ‘alive’. No one plays any instrument but the music is on and when one meditates, he just needs to concentrate on it in order to reach the state of union with God.¹² Sufi and Bhakti saints organised musical recitals (*sama* or *kirtan*) and this was a manifestation of Knowledge.

Sufis were organised into different *silsilas* or orders, based on their views and practices. There were many silsilas, such as *Suhrawardi*, *Chishti*, *Qadariya*, and *Firdausi*. Those saints who were leading figures lent a name to the *silsila*. It consisted of people who had become disciples of certain Sufis and would follow the path shown by him. A few famous Sufis of the *Chishti silsila* were Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, Khwaja Qutubuddin Baktyiar Kaki, Shaikh Hamiduddin Nagori, Khwaja Fariduddin Masud, Shaikh Nazimuddin Auliya, Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmood, Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib.¹³ The *Chishti* were prevalent in the Ganga-Yamuna doab region. The *Suhrawardi*, famous in Punjab, Sind and Bengal, was lead by saints such as Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya, Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi. The *Firdausi* order was an off-shoot of *Suhrawardi*, famous in Bihar. Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri was the most important Sufi belonging to

¹² Couplets of Dharamdas (a disciple of Kabirdas) where he has explained this music. He says “... *Bina bayaaye Nish din Baaje, Ghanta Shankh Nagani re, Behra sunsun Mast, hot hai, Baat Batave Saari re...*”

¹³ For detail please see the first chapter of this thesis entitled “A brief Historical Account of Sufism”.

this *silsila*. The Qalandari order covered most of the wandering dervishes. The *Rishi* order in Kashmir was established by Shaikh Nuruddin Wali.

Similarly, the Bhakti movement of this period can be divided into two phases. The first phase was eighth century onwards, started by Sankaracharya in South India. It was revived by Ramanuja in the twelfth century and spread all over north India during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The most prominent Bhakti saints during this period were Namdev, Gyandev, Ramananddev, Vallabhacharya, Eknath, Chaitanya, Kabir, Ravidas, Raidas and Nanak. These holy men belonged to the *nirguna* school. The other Bhakti school of note was the *saguna* school, of which Mirabai, Sahjobai, Tulsidas among others were influential during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Unlike the saints of the *nirguna* school, they worshipped idols in the form of Lord Rama, Krishna and others. The leaders of Bhakti movements who were to make a deep impact on social and religious ideas were those who were influenced by Islamic ideology, particularly Sufism¹⁴, and related them to ideas from the Vedas and Upanishads.

¹⁴ Kabir and Nanak found similarity in Islam to their ideas and related it to the formless God of Hinduism (in the Upanishads, Yogashastra). They emphasized the formless God (*nirankar*) and did not believe in idol worship. Their disciples were from both Muslim and Hindu communities. In their teachings they criticized both *ulema* and Brahmins who kept people in darkness and made them perform useless rites and rituals.

As the key figureheads of the first and most influential Sufi movement have been reviewed in the first chapter, it is important to examine their Bhakti counterparts understand the context of their beliefs and teachings.

The first known Bhakti saint, **Sankaracharya** (eighth century) was from South India and as a Hindu revivalist, he gave a new orientation to Hindustan. He was largely instrumental in extinguishing the last flicker of Buddhism, though he was heavily influenced by the teachings of Buddhism, as Buddha placed a strong importance on the individual. **Sankaracharya** was the first religious leader who gave a special place to women in his *sangha*. He was also one of the first religious leaders who valued manual work. People in the fields of business, traders, and craftsmen were all welcomed in his *sangha*. He had a radical approach to the changing society and attracted a large number of followers. A visionary scholar who had a wide knowledge of all contemporary religious movements, Sankaracharya saw all these things in Buddhism which was devoid in Brahmanical doctrine. He adapted the teachings of Buddha and tried to incorporate them in Brahmanical doctrine. He discarded those things from his teachings which were not practical and laid emphasis on one Lord, the Creator, and Union with God (*paramatma*) with the soul (*atma*). He endeavoured to change the Brahmanical pattern of worship by preaching a doctrine of pure monotheism

(*advaitvada*)¹⁵. But this was beyond the intelligence of the common man, and even though Sankaracharya was in principle the first Bhakti saint, his successor, Ramanuja, brought his philosophy to the level of the common man, and hence started the practice of the Bhakti movement. It should be noted that though he became an ascetic and travelled all over India to impart his teachings, when his mother died, he set a new ascetic tradition when he came back to pay last rites to her.

It was therefore left to **Ramanuja** to revive Hinduism (*vashnavism*) after the decline of Buddha by preaching Bhakti or “love of God” as a means of ‘salvation’. **Ramanauja** lived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. He was from a Brahmin family. His philosophy was monotheism (*vishitadvaita vedā*), which reconciled devotion to a personal god. This was similar to the philosophy of *Vedanta*¹⁶ or yogic philosophy. He expounded that the individual soul, though of the same substance of God, was also emanating from Him (the Supreme Being) and one could obtain eternal bliss not through absorption in God, but by existence **near** to God. Thus, he preached

¹⁵ *Advaitvada* philosophy of Sankaracharya was one of pure monotheism. It was also called as *kevaladvaita*. He preached that Brahma or God is real, the world is unreal, the individual self is the only supreme self, no other. His monotheism did not have any room for idols, neither for the caste system, nor for many of the practices of the Brahmins. He believed in the one indefinable, omnipresent God. If interested to explore this further, see Hymns of Guru Nanak, p 22.

¹⁶ In the Vedanta or the Upanishads, the importance of *jnana* is given. Here for Union with God, which provides external happiness, one has to take Knowledge (*jnana*) and perform meditation regularly. It is realization of God within, through certain yoga techniques to go inside oneself.

the doctrine of personal devotion to God (*saguna ishvara*). He spread his doctrine to *sudras*, and traveling extensively in India to propagate his ideas. Many subsequent Bhakti leaders derived inspiration from him, and thus he can be rightly called the founder of the Bhakti movement.

Among the famous saints of thirteenth century, **Namdev** from Maharashtra can be remembered as someone having similar doctrine to that of **Ramanuja**. He was the first saint to preach in Marathi language and wrote a *chande* (a form of poetry) called '*Abhangā*'. He can be placed first among the saints of India who wrote *Abhangā* in different languages. To **Namdev**, *guru* was the most important being, who was the key to changing the life of an individual. His *guru* was **Vithal**. He believed that *guru* was the one who understood the importance of the union of the soul with God and for this, *jnana* was important. After *jnana* the soul had to follow the path of Bhakti (*Bhakti-marga*). His teachings were similar to Kabir and Sufi, Baba Farid, as we find their couplets in the *Adi-Granth*¹⁷, along with those of Guru Nanak. He not only propagated his teachings in Maharashtra, but ventured up as far as Punjab via Gujarat. He can be considered the first saint who promoted such teachings in north west India. He was known for his

¹⁷ The religious book of Sikhs, which has the compilation of hymns of Guru Nanak, along with Baba Farid, Kabir, Namdev and a few other monotheistic saints. There is much similarity within their writings. This is the best example of just how much Bhakti and Sufi doctrines had in common. They both talked and wrote about one God, union with God, and a rejection of materialistic obsession.

criticism of those Brahmins who read but did not comprehend the scriptures, and if asked something on what they had just recited, they were not able to explain. The Brahmins were opposed to saints preaching in local languages and winning the hearts of people.¹⁸

The later Bhakti saints whose ideas were similar with those of Sufis were **Ramananda, Vallabhacharya, Chaitanya, Kabir, and Nanak.** Ramananda founded a new school of *vaishnavism* based on the gospel of love and devotion. Although he himself was a Brahmin, he did not find any difference between a person of high caste and low caste and among his disciples were people from all sectors. He considered all human beings as children of God and as such, the body as a temple where God resided. He had twelve chief disciples, including Ravidas, Kabir, Sena, and Sadhana from different lower castes. He popularized the cult of Ram and Sita instead of Krishna and Radha.

Vallabhacharya (1479 – 1531) was born to Telgu parents near Benares. His doctrine was *suddha-advaita*, or pure non-duality. He preached renunciation of the world and complete identity of *atma*, and *prakriti* with

¹⁸ However Namdev said, “*Tatva Poochne Gaya Vedaggyon Ko, To Vahan bhare mile Vidhi Nishedha, Us se Samadhan Kiwi Samaya Nahin Mila Ahankar Bali Bana Vahan. Isliye to nam Pakra Sab Bhava se, To mile Vahan Par Bhedabherda. Ek Ek ke mat se milne Par Bhant Garvashali Mein Bhoole sada*”. Namdev by Madhava Gopal Deshmukh, Sahitya Academy, New Delhi, 1981. p60

*Parmatma*¹⁹, and was the one who believed that Bhakti was the only means of salvation provided by God. He lay emphasis on *guru* who was considered to be divine on earth, showed the path of grace or *pushtimarg* which lead people closer to God. He identified Brahma with Krishna, who is one, omnipotent and omniscient, and the cause of all that is there in the Universe, that is, He is the creator, and He is characterised by *Satya* (truth), *Cit* (consciousness) and *Ananda* (bliss). When the conscious being's soul is introduced to the truth of his/her life, and when they follow the path of meditation, he/she experiences bliss. But this is only possible when the individual's soul understands the *maya* (illusion), and is ready to surrender to God by accepting the *guru*, that he experiences bliss. This is possible because the soul is part of God, and if the soul realizes this, then his suffering would be reduced and he would enjoy reunion with god. The only means of salvation is *sneha* (deep rooted and all surpassing love) of God. And this is attained when the Lord is ready to shower his blessings on the individual. This is when he is happy with the devotion of the individual and allows the person's *atma* to be a part of Him. Though his philosophy was

¹⁹ *Atma* is the soul, *prakiti* is the world, *Parmatma* is God. Union of *atma* with *Parmatma* is the ultimate goal of being a human being, as it is not possible to experience this enlightenment after death. This is by the grace of the *Guru* who guides a person and gives Knowledge and shows him the path of salvation.

very good, it was radical thinking for the period, and the masses found it difficult to adopt the concept of *guru* as path to God.

Chaitanya (1486 – 1533) was from Bengal, and believed Krishna to be God, who was infinite, full of love and bliss, full of infinite power and consciousness. The love of Radha for Krishna was eternal, and knowledge, meditation, charity, virtue can be subordinated to this love.²⁰ To express the relationship between God and the individual soul, he developed a theory called *achintyabhedabhedā* (incomprehensible dualistic monoism). This was the kind of love which only the two (God and soul) could understand. Some of his powers were *cit*, *maya*, *avidya*, *anand*, and *sat*. He believed that God was the creator, preserver and destroyer, that God is Lord of *maya*, and *jiva* is the subject. The *lila* is played by Him where the *jiva* has to act as He wishes. For Chaitanya, Bhakti, or devotion, was the only means of salvation. His favourite form of devotion as a *bhakta* was *kirtan* and *samakirtan* - this was singing and chanting God's name, accompanied by dance, during the course of which one could reach the state of ecstasy, and feel the presence of God near him. This was similar to *sama* and *qawwali* of the Chishti saints. In spite of being a Brahmin, he was opposed to the caste system and people

²⁰ S.A A.Rizvi, "History of Sufism in India", p357.

from all castes came to him. Among his Muslim disciplines were Rup, Haridas, and Santam .

One of the important *nirguna* saints, and a disciple of Ramananda, was **Kabir** (1440 – 1500). He was the son of a Brahmin widow and was brought up by a Muslim weaver, so could be considered the first important living bridge between Islam and Hinduism. He was a householder and a mystic, and never promoted renunciation of home and family. As he did not adhere to ascetism²¹ or book learning for the ‘True Knowledge’, and he believed that God was in the heart and this was the most important realisation.²² Kabir emphasized the unity of God, whom he calls by several names such as Ram, Rahin, Allah, Govind, Hari, Saaien, Sahib.²³ It led Kabir to conclude that all religions were different roads to the same goal, hence he considered the difference between Hindus and Muslims meaningless. He strongly opposed the rites, rituals and ceremonies performed by both Hindus and Muslims, as did Nizamuddin Auliya who said that rituals like prayer, fasting, pilgrimage “are like spices in a stew”,

²¹ Kabir believed that the *grihastya* ashram is the best ashram. Anyone who wants to enjoy the bliss should be a householder and then try to obtain Knowledge and follow the path of Bhakti. By doing this, he would not forget God and would attain salvation. But an ascetic who cannot discard worldly things would not get salvation. He preached that a person should stay in the world as an householder as a lotus is there in the pond. He criticised ascetics and ahs said: “*Man na rangaye, rangaye jogi kapara, Dadhi Badha Ke, Ho gaye Bakra*”.

²² Note that even Nizamudin Auliya and other Chishti saints had a similar faith.

²³ He equated it with that of different names of water (aab, nir, toya, ambu) but that all meant the same thing.

the real thing being the meat not the spices. Kabir denounced idol worship²⁴, pilgrimages²⁵, bathing in rivers²⁶, or taking part in formal worship, such as *namaz*²⁷. He was sharp and harsh towards the orthodox Brahmins and *ulema*, as he believed they misused the innocence of the people for their own benefit and that they tried to misguide the common people by interpreting the scriptures according to their own conveniences.

Kabir believed that God was Supreme and was not far away in some ‘heaven’, but residing within oneself. Kabir emphasized the need of a real master or *guru*, who could give the intuitive Knowledge and show the Divine Being which would illuminate the heart of human beings.²⁸ While citing the importance of *guru*, he actually placed him above God²⁹ as he felt

²⁴ Kabir strongly condemned idol worship as he felt that it was not the true form of worship. He felt that if by worshipping the price of stone, a person could be in union with God, then he would worship the mountain. He also felt that people were making fun of themselves by worshipping an idol and not God Himself. And they were therefore ignorant about the God within themselves. He equated this with the cleanliness of Masjid and condemned the meaningless *namaz*. He says in one of his couplets: “*Mandir mein butt rakha Hai, Masjid Mein Safam Safai Hei; Dile dargah mein dakho to Jhalkat – noore Illahi Hai*”.

²⁵ Kabir felt all the pilgrimages were in the hearts of human, and since it was the place where the Absolute Being resided, it was the biggest pilgrimage on earth.

²⁶ Kabir said in one of his couplets that if a person gets heaven by bathing in the river Ganga, then all fish would go to heaven.

²⁷ Kabir has said that Muslims do not understand that real *namaz* is to be good to people. Just paying the rites by reciting *namaz* five times a day without meaning is useless.

²⁸ Kabir says to people that the Creator is in the heart. He is to be understood with the help of the *guru* and Knowledge, he calls the Divine Being as Ram and explains Him as follows: “*Ek Ram Dasratha Ka Beta, Ek Ram Ghat Ghat Mein Baitha, Ek Ram ke Jaghat Pasara, Ek Ram Jagat se Nyara*”. He asks people to understand who is the real *Ram* he wants to worship. And he emphasizes the Ram who is in the heart of each being and is beyond this world.

²⁹ Kabir says more importance to *guru* and therefore he has written many couplets where he praises the *guru* and his goodness to provide Knowledge of God who has hidden Himself in the heart. And humans get illusioned in this world and don’t look to Him where He resides. For this he says, “*Guru Govind dono Khare, Kako lagoon Paayne, Balhihari Guru Aapne, Govine Diyo Lakhaye*”.

that to find the right *guru* is very difficult³⁰. He felt that through *guru*'s instruction (True Knowledge) a man was taught to remember God's name in heart and was released from transmigration.³¹ On meeting the *guru*, the person would be comforted and bask in peace of mind. Kabir believed that if God was estranged then a person would need to seek refuge in a *guru*, but if *guru* was emanated, then there was no shelter.³² Kabir regarded death as the ultimate truth of life. Everyone who was born had to die. He described the human form like an earthen pot full of water which inevitably would burst. Death could come suddenly and unexpectedly, and therefore when a person is alive they should take Knowledge and repeat God's name through meditation. He should not ignore it.³³

He believed in transmigration and therefore asked for a good end.³⁴ A saint's life, says Kabir, was a triumph over continual rebirth for it resulted in supreme bliss. "If while living thou be dead, while dead return to life by means of Divine Knowledge and thus become absorbed in God; if thou abide pure amid impurity, thou shall not again fall into the terrible ocean of

³⁰ Kabir says to realize God is very easy if the true *guru* is there and he gives me right knowledge and illuminates the heart. He says, "*Hari to Milte Pal Bhar Mein, Gurudeva Ka Milna Mushkil Hai*".

³¹ He gets *moksha* which is salvation and it is very easy in kaliyug. As he has said that "*kaliyug kewal naam Adhara, Sumara Sumara Nar Utaro Paara*".

³² Kabir, "Granthavali" pages 1 - 4

³³ "Ramanam Ki Loot Hai, Loot Sake to Loot, Phir Paachehe Pachchayega Jab Praan Jayenge Chchoot".

³⁴ Kabir says that a person should do good in his life, take knowledge and use his time on earth economically. He should definitely save time and meditate because that is the only wealth he can carry with him after death. For this he says, "*Bhule man samajh ke Laad Ladaniya, Thoda Laad, Bahut mat Laade, Toot Jaye Teri Gardaniya*".

the world".³⁵ Kabir believed in the power of reciting and repeating God's name. He described heaven with the use of negatives, as if heaven or hell was made with human being himself, and he himself considered that heaven was craved only in absorption with God.³⁶

Guru Nanak (1469 – 1539) was the son of a village accountant. He was one of the most important *nirguna* saints who preached in a similar manner to Kabir. He was married and had three children, but left them to join the Sufis, and he visited many places including Mecca. Finally he rejoined his family and settled. Like Kabir, he believed in the formless God and that God could be seen within the self, and lay emphasis on the repeated recitation of God's name, which was called as *nam* or *shabd* by him³⁷. He believed that taking Knowledge could only be attained through a living *guru* as *guru* was the only one who would help in attaining Union with God. He was opposed to all discrimination of caste, as well as religious rivalries. He declared "there is no Hindu, there is no Musselman". Gospel he believed

³⁵ Macauliffe, p 163, see also Rizvi's "A Wonder That Was India." Vol. Two.

³⁶ "Everybody saith he is going hither (to heaven); I know now where heaven is, they who know not secrets of their own hearts, glibly talk of heaven. As long as a man desires the heaven, he shall not dwell at God's feet. I know not where heaven's gate is, nor it's mote, nor it's plastered fortress, saidth Kabir what more can I now say, than that society of saints is heaven?" Kabir as quoted in Macauliffe, p 265-266

³⁷ He has described that the *shabdh* was the name of God and it was since the beginning when this universe was formed and it was the name of Absolute Being. "Shabd hi dharti, Shabd hi aakash; Shabd hi Shabd Bhayo Prakaash; Shagle Shrishti Shabd ke paachehe; Nanak Shabd Ghata Ghat aachche". He also felt that God's name was the only Truth, and it was there before time began, and He was the only Truth. He said, "Before time itself, there was Truth. When time began to run its course, He was the truth. Even now, He is the Truth, and evermore shall truth prevail." Hymns of Guru Nanak, p26.

was based on universal tolerance, based on all that was good in Islam and Hinduism.

Nanak founded a new religious movement (*Sikhism*) by blending the concept of unity with God which was closely related both to Islamic concepts and to the Hindu doctrine of rebirth. He also believed in unity of Being or *wahdatul-wujud*, which was represented by *dwaitadvaitavilakshanavada* by the Gorakhnath Sages³⁸, its similarity with *om* for which Nanak said *ek-onkar* (the one invisible Absolute Being³⁹). Like the God of Ibn Al-Arabi, Nanak's God not only creates but he is also there in all living beings in all finite forms. The Divine essence is the knower, the known, and the knowing; '*and filling all, upholdeth all, and is yet detached; oh he is the one who is both manifest and unmanifest all over*'.⁴⁰ Nanak's god is eternally unchanging and formless (*nirankar*), inscrutable (*agam*) boundless (*apar*) and beyond time (*akal*). He is one 'husband'⁴¹. His manifestation is beyond comprehension. His light is there in the soul and he should not be sought outside it, as it pervades and illuminates all hearts. Nanak gave

³⁸ Gorakhnath was the Lord of *nath panthis* who shared very similar realization with Sufis and were welcomed at Chishti saints Khanqahs as well as their techniques of *yoga* which were liked by most of the Sufis e.g Nasiruddin Chirag-e-Delhi performed *yoga*. See also in History of Sufism in India pp366-68.

³⁹ This was similar to what Sufis said about the Absolute Being. Guru Nanak said that whichever way one turns his eyes, he will see God. Similar verse is in the Quran, "whichever way ye turn there is the face of Allah". He says God is unique and was *Ek-onker*, "*Ekam Ekonkar niratta, Aman ajooni jat na jata*", p26 Granth Sahib.

⁴⁰ Gopal Singh, "Sri Guru Granth Sahib" vol 4, p 974.

⁴¹ He is the *Pranpati*, who is loved as beloved by his *premi* (lover).

highest importance to True Name (*nam*).⁴² That is why Nanak's audience selected the names like *Guru Sabad* or *Guru*'s word, which was inexplicable and undefinable.

Nanak's teachings were for people from all castes and he preached a practical approach to problems of life. His views were closely related to those of Kabir and the Chishti saints. He rejected asceticism and advocated living a normal life accompanied by right faith and belief. He says: "He alone, o Nanak, knoweth the way, who earneth with the sweat of his brow, and then shareth it with the others."⁴³ He depreciated the *mulla*, *pirs*, and *yogis* who lived on charity. He said: "They who eat the fruit of their labour and bestow something, o Nanak, recognise the right way".⁴⁴ Like Sufis, he believed that the essence of goodness was humility and service to others. He criticised the rituals and ceremonies which were performed by Hindus and Muslims.

⁴² Nanak emphasized on *nam japo*, i.e worship the Name of the Lord. But this means not just a parrot. Like repetition *Rama, Rama*. But it implies understanding of the words of the prayer and making them the rule of life. The path of *nam – nimanga* requires three things: realization of the Truth within the heart *hriday gyan*; its expression in prayer *mukhbhakh* and detachment from worldly things *virtan vairag*. He says *nam* is worth more than all pilgrimages to 'holy' rivers because in the worship of *nam*, the person delves into one's heart, which is the shrine of God and sanctuary of Divine Knowledge, he says: "*Teerath nevan jao, teerath nam hai, Teerath shabad beechar, antergyan hai*" Hymns of Guru Nanak, p37. See also Adi Granth p68. The name which cannot be pronounced by this tongue and can only be repeated inside. It is the *ajapajaap* which is constantly done inside and a human who has the knowledge can just concentrate on it.

⁴³ 'Sri Guru Granth Sahib" 4, p1191

⁴⁴ Macauliffe, vol 1, p39

The teachings of the Sufi saints during the Sultanate period can be traced back to the theory of *Wahdat u'l-Wajud* (unity of being) of Ibn al-Arabi. This concept was founded on the primordial belief in the ultimate nature of unity which reduced to nothing, the ideas of the existence of entities other than God.⁴⁵ Ibn al-Arabi believed that the Absolute Being was inseparable from the Absolute Existent and was the ultimate source of Existence, that the Absolute Being had manifested Himself in every form of existence and in the highest degree in the form of Perfect Man. According to Ibn al-Arabi, the One and the many are the two aspects of one.⁴⁶ Medieval writer, Afifi, interprets his concept and says: "*The one reveals himself in many ... as an object is revealed in different mirrors, each mirror reflecting an image determined by its nature and its capacity as a recipient. Or it is like a source of light from which an infinite number of lights is derived. Or a substance which penetrates and permeates the forms of existing objects: thus, giving them their meaning and being. Or it is like a mighty sea on the surface of which we observe countless waves forever appearing and disappearing. The external drama of existence is nothing but this ever renewed creation (al-Khalq, al-Jadid) which is in reality a perpetual process*

⁴⁵ "A History of Sufism" pp103-108.

⁴⁶ Similar to monotheism which explains that all humans have some part of God in them due to which they are alive. Ibn al Arabi explains that this God is the one who is in all living beings and thus is many.

of self revelation".⁴⁷ Ibn al-Arabi identified the Absolute with *zat* (or essence) and interpreted it as the Absolute Being (*Wujud al-Mutlaq*) calling it a source and cause of all existence.

The symbol of mirrors was used to remind the person who was the recipient of divine self-manifestation that he was seeing God directly, rather than the reflection of the Divine Light. Al-Arabi emphasized that "*He who knows himself, knows the Lord*". It was only the self-revealing aspect of the Absolute that human beings could understand. To al-Arabi *tanzih* referred to the aspect of completeness in the Absolute that was similar to union with God and *tashbih* which stood for his limitedness (*taqayyud*). True knowledge of the Absolute was required for the fusion of the two.

According to Ibn al-Arabi, the Divine Being is the creator as He wishes to know himself in the beings who know Him. Thus, "*the creation is essentially the revelation of the divine being, first to Himself, luminescence incurring within Him; it is a pure theophony (tajalli-ilahi)*". Ibn al-Arabi attached importance to the cosmic significance of man. He believed that in the universe was 'Perfect Man' created by God, and each individual was a small universe, the first 'epiphany' of God. His arguments were based on the

⁴⁷ M.M. Sharif (ed) A History of Muslim Philosophy, vol 1, p413. See also History of Sufism in India, p106.

Jewish tradition that God created Adam in his own image, but Ibn al-Arabi made full use of the Sufi theories of *haqiqaal* and *Muhammadiya* and *Nural-Muhammadiya* which were similar to the creation of Manu and Shatrupa, in the beginning of the universe. Ibn al-Arabi discredited man for being wielded by his own ‘ego’ and this separated him from the Absolute, closer to inferior beings like animals, plants and minerals. Human beings when they remove the veil of illusion (*maya*) and try to see within themselves, they are illuminated by the light of the Absolute. This notion is seen in the Bhakti movement, and is described that with Knowledge one is illuminated.

Contrary to Bhakti belief, Ibn al-Arabi did not believe in being one with God, rather it was the realization of the union with God which existed in Him. One had to understand that this union was ever-present during a lifetime, and would only break when the individual died. Like the Sufis, he believed that this realization would not come with *ilm* (knowledge) which was intellect, but through *marifat* (intuitive Knowledge) of the soul⁴⁸. For this realization he advised the Sufis to remove the veil of sin and ignorance which separated the soul from God,⁴⁹ thus enabling the soul to be

⁴⁸ This was similar to *jnana* of Upanishads as well as the *nam* of Kabir and *shabdh* of Nanak, and many other *nirguna* saints of the Bhakti movement. This is the Knowledge which brings the individual close to God.

⁴⁹ Kabir has written a beautiful couplet on veil ‘Ghoongat Ke Pat Khol Re Tohe Piya Milenge’. This *ghoonghat* is the veil which all of us have. This is due to ignorance and we are lost in *maya* (illusion). This is to be removed to enable the person to have union with God, which is possible through Knowledge.

illuminated by Divine Light. This illumination in a person makes him tolerant, compassionate and a fellow being. Al-Arabi abdicated that the Divine Being existed and was worshipped by all religions, and God was worshipped and loved in his highest manifestations. He declared, “*My heart has become the receptacle of every ‘form’, it is a pasture for gazelles (objects of love) and a convent for Christian monks, a temple for idols and the pilgrim’s kirtin, the tablets of torah (Jewish law) and the book of Quran. I follow the religion of love; whichever way its camels go, for this is my religion and my faith*”.⁵⁰

Like Ibn al-Arabi, Sufi mystics had a deep devotion to God, and they disliked the vulgar display of wealth, degeneration of morals, and general inequality among society. The Sufi concept of *fana*⁵¹, or spiritual merger of the devoted with God, was central to their teachings. They emphasized *wahdad ul-wajud*, that is, Unity of Being. They believed that God is everywhere, but he is to be realized. He is in different forms of life, in all human beings and animals.

⁵⁰ Tarjuman al-Ashwaq, quoted by Afifi, “A History of Muslim Philosophy”, vol I, p144.

⁵¹ R.A Nicholson asserted that controversy surrounds the concept of *fana* and *baqa* as expressed by Bayazid Bastami, comparing *fana* with *nirvana*. Nicholson says “both terms imply the passing away of individuality, but while nirvana is purely negative, *fana* is accompanied by *baqa*, everlasting life in God. The rapture of the Sufi who has lost himself in ascetic contemplation of Divine being is entirely opposed to the passionless serenity of the *arahat*”. For details see Nicholson’s “The Mystics of Islam”, p16.

Tasawwuf, or mysticism, strove to achieve the inner realization of Divine unity by arousing the intuitive and spiritual faculties. Sufis plunged into contemplation and meditation, and adherence to a life of temperance which was an essential attribute for attaining a strong union with God.

In the Hindu scriptures - the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas, or the religious texts like Bhagvata Gita - the universality of the Supreme Being is discussed. They describe the Absolute Being as the creator, nourisher and the destroyer. The texts explain the *jnana* (intuitive Knowledge) which can be taken by the individual who can then bring himself to the level of God by reciting the name of God provided by *jnana*. This required a lot of practice (*sadhana*), which was made possible through *yoga*. Yoga means union, union with the Ultimate, and this has been idealized and practiced from the beginning. It describes those who propose different beliefs about the Ultimate and those who advocate different methods of achieving the Union. The view called ‘*advaith*’ (non-dualistic), *Vedanta* (culmination of the Vedas) best exemplifies the ideal of perfect *yoga*, which it explains.⁵²

Yoga can be performed in different ways. *Karma yoga* is one form which presupposes the ‘law of Karma’. An individual performing a good or

⁵² “*Yoga – Union with the Ultimate*”, Archie J. Bahn, Fredric Ungar Publishing Company, 1978

evil task reaps the same result. *Gnana yoga* is a second way to progress towards the Union with Ultimate reality and emphasizes the attainment of understanding. This ‘path of Knowledge’ includes a quest for Knowledge of both self and objects as ordinarily experienced, and of self and objects as they ultimately are. A study of scriptures, especially with the guidance of sagacious teachers (i.e *guru*), aids the process of understanding the yogic practices. This is summarized in the symbol ‘*Am*’ or ‘*Om*’.⁵³ The goal of Knowledge is to realize the illusory nature of all perceptive and discursive knowledge. Ultimate reality can be intuited, but not “known”. The path of Knowledge leads beyond knowledge to a yogic intuition in which awareness and being are identical, or completely united. “Knowledge” involves a distinction between knower and known, but in yogic intuition knower and known are one, not two.⁵⁴ *Bhakti yoga* places importance on devotion. What one loves, that he serves. The more fully he loves it, the more completely he devotes himself to it. The greater the value of that which one loves, the more he seeks to unite himself with it, and thereby finding his own value realized in the Beloved. Such Union is complete when between lover and Beloved,

⁵³ ibid, p 17. Bhakti saints like Nanak, laid emphasis on ‘Om’ and called it Ek-onkar.

⁵⁴ ibid. p18

and there is no difference other than *identity*.⁵⁵ Amir Khusrau, a disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya says:

*“Man to shudam, tu man shudee I become you and you into me
 Man tan shudam tu jan shudee I become a body and you a soul
 Ta kas na bayad baad az een So that no one can say
 Man degaram tu digaree” I am one and you are other.*

This is the love between God and the individual soul.

Raja yoga focuses the attention and efforts towards the body and mind for the purpose of controlling and illuminating every physical and mental element which prevents the soul from enjoying the perfect Union. *Tantric yoga* is a form of *Bhakti yoga* in which orgasm constitutes the concrete symbol of cosmic self-realisation. The goal of *Tantric yoga* is a kind of eternal orgasm.⁵⁶

Similarly in Buddhism and Jainism, Buddha and Mahavira explained the importance of self-realisation. They preached a middle-path which was good for humans staying in *Grihastya Ashram*. They also emphasized the knowledge which could be attained from the real *Guru*. *Guru* who was of

⁵⁵ ibid. p20

⁵⁶ ibid. p21. This is a state of ecstasy which is attained after long term meditation. And this lifts the person from material desires and pleasures, as it is considered that all the pleasure of worldlyness is below this pleasure, which is long lasting as is such that whenever the individual who has experienced it, remembers it he re-lives this happiness. This is explained in the discourses of *Maharaji* in November 1998.

that time and was living. That *guru* is called *Satguru* (the true living *Guru* of the period). Bhakti saints and disciples have much praise for these *gurus*. As Kabir said that is all this earth was paper, the water in the ocean were the ink, all the trees in the forests are to be used as pen and one would write the description of *Guru* on it, still he would not describe the *guru* wholly.⁵⁷

Bhakti saints were monotheists who argued that salvation was granted by the grace of God if Knowledge was imparted to the individual through a *living Guru*. Most of them linked the Bhakti *marga* with that of traditions of the Vedas. They used the scriptures to explain the theoretical aspects of Knowledge. All Bhakti saints placed emphasis on *Ek Brahma*⁵⁸ who was the Creator and resided within the heart of each human being. For Nanak, God was one and He was the truth, the Creator, without fear and without hate, he was beyond time, immortal, and it was His spirit which pervades the universe, He is never born, He never dies, He is self-existent.⁵⁹ For Nanak, God was formless and idols made for God were just to remember and respect the form which was read in scriptures. The formless God was

⁵⁷ Kabir says, "Sab Dharti Kagad Karoon, Lekhani Sab Vanrai, Sab nadi Syahi Karoon, Guru Gun likha naa jaaye".

⁵⁸ Nanak called *Ek Onkar* or *Ik Aumkar*, there is one God. Even in the *Chandogya Upanishad* it is written, "So all speech is held by *Aum*". Nanak describes the *Aumkar* as the "emancipation and essence of the three worlds". Hymns of Guru Nanak, p28.

⁵⁹ Hymns of *Guru Nanak*, Khushwant Singh (translator), p25. Nanak describes God, "There is one God, His name is Truth, He is without fear and without hate. He is beyond time immortal, his Spirit pervades the Universe. He is not born, Nor doe He die to be born again, He is self-existent. By the *Guru's* grace shall thou worship Him".

worshipped since the time when humanity had threats from nature.⁶⁰ But it is understood that the need for the Union with that power was always felt by humanity. Though at times they did not understand it and tried to fulfill their hearts with worldly things, which only served to worsen their condition.

There is a common theme that runs through the *Quran*, *Adi Granth* and the *Hindu scriptures*. Nanak called God as *Sat Kartar*, who was the True Creator or *Satnam*, whose name was the True Name.⁶¹ Nanak also called God as *Nirankar* and therefore he is beyond description. He says that therefore one should admit that he is beyond his imagination, and he defies description or definition, and can not be realized from this eye or mind.⁶²

Sufi Muinuddin Chishti says:

<i>Ek Mandir men das darwazah</i>	<i>There is a temple with ten doors</i>
<i>Jamen basen kartaar</i>	<i>that is where the god resides,</i>
<i>Apne-apne niyam dharma se</i>	<i>With their own way</i>

⁶⁰ Ibid, p26. This concept of Nanak's is similar to that of Kabir and other monotheist saints. It is also similar to that of the Christian Bible, "In the beginning was the Word, and the word was with God, and the Word was God." Genesis, book 1 or it can be said that since the time which humans felt the need for God. It is just the expression is different throughout the ages but the essence remains the same. The goal is the same, the methods different. The Sikh religion, pp260-270.

⁶¹ The names of the Hindu Gods – Vasudeva, Hari, Govinda and Rama were all combined in the word *Wah Guru* and He was said as *Hail Guru!* Exactly similar to Muslims' *Subhan Allah – Allah be praised!* Both the *Adi Granth* and the *Quran* begin with similarly praising God – in the *Adi Granth* "ik Aumkar Satguruprasha" (The One God, By the grace of *Guru*, worship), and in the *Quran* "Bismillah—I-Rahman—I-Rahim" (in the name of Allah the Beneficent, the Merciful), *Guru Nanak's Hymns*, p28.

⁶² Thou hast a million eyes, yet no eye hast Thou.
Thou Hast a million forms, yet no form hast Thou
Thou art without odour, yet millions of odours emanate from Thee
With such charms, O Lord, hast Thou bewitched me.
Thy light pervades everywhere. – *Raga Dhanasari, Adi Granth*, p 663

Puje shakal sansar!

*The universe worships him!*⁶³

Even Kabir says the pilgrimage was in the heart of the human where God resides.⁶⁴

There is an interesting event with Nanak that when he was resting in a mosque with his feet towards Kabah, a mullah came to say his prayer and shook Nanak rudely and said ;

"O servant of God, thou has thy feet towards Kabah, the house of god; why hast thou done such a thing?"

Nanak replied;

*"Then turn my feet towards some direction where there is no God, no Kabah."*⁶⁵

To realize such a God, *nam* or True Knowledge is important. This *nam* leads to union with God as we discussed earlier from *jnana* yoga in the ancient period yogis used to realize the union with God. The monotheist saints, particularly Kabir and Nanak, emphasized *satguru*. Even the Sufis stressed the importance of *pir-o-murshid* to realize the Absolute Being. Here we see that these Bhakti saints might have been influenced by Sufi traditions. One of the important agendas of both the Bhakti *Guru* and Sufi

⁶³ Chishti, Muinuddin, "Namaaz Kee Haqeeqat," p.64.

⁶⁴ Kabir says ' Naa mandir mein naa Masjid me na kabah Kailash mein,
Khoji hovey to mein mil jaoun pal bhar ki talaash mein.'

⁶⁵ Hymns of Guru Nanak, p. 17.

pir-o-murshid was to illuminate people regarding the limitations and restrictions of the *ulema* and Brahmin philosophies. Nanak and Kabir wrote many couplets to make people understand the importance of *Guru*. Nanak said that *Guru* is the vessel who could save the individual soul from the ocean of the world, and provide release from the cycle of life and death.⁶⁶ Kabir said that those individuals who believe in Knowledge and Truth within themselves are to be respected as they have acknowledged the *satguru* and have chosen to walk down the path shown by Him.⁶⁷

Guru has been revered by all the saints as Guru Arjun says that when *guru* is there, the superstitious mind of human is illuminated and he cuts the chains and frees the soul.⁶⁸ But it can be ascertained that under the *Guru*'s instruction; by meeting the True One, happiness is obtained. If the *satguru* be met, true love shall not sunder and the wealth of Divine Knowledge of the three words shall be obtained. If anyone acquires virtue, he will not forget

⁶⁶ "How shall I scale the fortress without a ladder? By meditating on God through the *Guru* I shall behold him. The *Guru* giving me God's name is my ladder, my boat, my raft; The *Guru* is the lake, the see and the boat; the *Guru* is the sacred stream" *The Sikh Religion, Its Gurus, Sacred Writing and Authors*, Max Arthur Macauliffe, p 267.

⁶⁷ "Mahima Badi Jo Sadh Ki, Jake Nam Aadhar. Satguru keri dayate utere bhavajal paar". Kabir Panthi Shabdavali, Swami Shri Yuglaland Bihari (ed), Bombay 1997, p459.

⁶⁸ *The Sikh Religion, Its Gurus, Sacred Writing and Authors*, Max Arthur Macauliffe. It has been described that Knowledge illuminates one's life and the child who receives it obtains primal love (the love of God which disposes Him to protect the child in love). And he says that *Guru* who is served by this child showers his blessings which protects the child from problems. Nanak says, "He who serveth the True *Guru* obtaineth the real _____, and is deliverd by repeating the world, Truth is contained in pure vessels; few there are whose acts are pure. By seeking Thy protection, the soul blends with the Supreme Soul".

the Pure Name. The birds which peck one, sea and land have played and gone away.⁶⁹

The importance of *Guru* is so much that Kabir says that if God and *Guru* both come and stand in front of one who has knowledge, that disciple should bow at *Guru* first because he is the one who made him see God who was residing within but he was ignorant of Him.⁷⁰

Bhakti and Sufi saints gave importance to salvation and for this Kabir emphasized the Bhakti *marga* which was based on contemplation and meditation. He stressed that at least some time in a day should be spent by the disciple reciting the name of God which is provided by *Guru* through True Knowledge.⁷¹ Even Nanak said this *marga* as *nam marga* and laid emphasis on *nam japo* as explained earlier.

All Bhakti and Sufi saints laid emphasis on *Guru-shishya parampara* (*pir-mureed* traditions). The disciples were urged to follow the sayings of the *Guru* if they desired the eternal love of God. For this they had to shed their ego as the presence of ego obstructed the realization of Knowledge and love of God. He had to surrender himself fully to his *Guru* and should be

⁶⁹ ibid, p 272.

⁷⁰ "Guru Gobind dono khare, kako lagoon payan, balihari *Guru* aapne Govind diyo lakhai, Govind diyo lakhai, gyana ka hai bhandara sat marga par paon apan *Guru* hi ne dara govind liyo bithaye hiye khud *guru* ke charanan matha dinha tek kiyo kul jiwan arpan.", Sudarshin Chopra, Kabir, New Delhi 1992, p 122

⁷¹ ibid, page 138 "panch pahar dhande gaya, teen pahar gaya soi, ek pahar hari nam bin mukti kaise hoi, mukti kaise hoi tohi se samjhavat hai, moorakh gaflat chor, yahi mein tera hit hai, thora samaya nikar ram se neh laga le, kabira hai bin dam amar phal yako kha le"

ready to devote anything and everything in his life at the feet of *Guru*⁷². It is considered that if someone is in love with the other person, he or she does something for the loved one. Similarly, in order to show love towards *Guru*, the disciple should be ready to do something which would please his master. *Satsang* and *Simran* were important for the disciple to fully understand Knowledge. *Satsang* is a society of holy men where description from heart is given and whatever is said by the holy man or master is not intellectualized or based on scriptures. It is purely on the basis of personal experience that holy men talk about the Absolute Being in all human beings. Very few people are lucky to be party to such society and discourse. *Satsang* is said to be a kind of ‘soap’ which keeps on washing the dirt and dust of *maya* (illusion) covering the human conscience even after receiving True Knowledge. It is important to listen to *satsang* for a disciple to reach the ultimate goal. For him, *seva*, *satsang* and *bhajan* (*nam jap*) are the only roads which can bring him in union with God. Kabir emphasized that life seems pointless if one is on this earth but does not take Knowledge and perform the task of a true disciple. Otherwise he is similar to an animal and cannot reform himself and release from cycle of life and death. He said that

⁷² If one turns the pages of *mafuzaat*, he/she can realize the master-disciple relationship. The saints have crushed their ego so much that they even avoided to be taken for special treatment. In all the collection of *mafuzaat*, the first sentence begins like this. I had the benefit of kissing his feet. 2. I had good fortune of kissing his feet. 3. I obtain the benefit of kissing his feet. (Writes Amir Hasan Sijzi in *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*)

the human body is the gate to salvation, and one should develop all dimensions of their being, which includes not only their minds but their souls.⁷³ After taking Knowledge, salvation can be attained but one should be involved in *seva*, *satsang* and *bhajan* in spite of staying in *grihastya ashram*. If this is not done, then that human will be crushed in the grindstone, as wheat is done and flour is made out of it.⁷⁴ It is said that the three pillars, *seva*, *satsang* and *bhajan* act like the mast in the grindstone where if any wheat grain is left near the mast, then until the end, it will remain the same.⁷⁵

Bhajan, *satsang* and *seva* are, as explained earlier, the three pillars of a successful life of a saint, which results in being in Union with God. Fourth and the most important pillar being the ‘*guru*’ whose importance has been explained earlier. Sufi saints define it as *fana* where as Bhakti saints call it *yoga* or *parmatma se Milan*. Then what is *bhajan* for Sufis? One need no explanation about *qawwali* and its importance in the Sufi parlance. *Sama* is the very important in Sufi gatherings of which *qawwali* is crucial. *Bhajan* and *sama* are so similar in approach that at times it is hard to distinguish

⁷³ For such forgetting souls, Kabir explains in one of his couplets, “Chalti chakki dekh ke, diya kabira roya, Do paton ke beech mein, sabot bacha na koya”.

⁷⁴ Kabir, Nanak and other saints have given importance to such society of holy men; Maharaji’s discourse 2nd November, 1999, Nepal.

⁷⁵ Maharaji said in his discourse, November 1998, “Chakki chakki sab kahe, killi kahe na koi, Jo killi ke Sang mein, Bal na Banka hoi”.

between them. One is compelled to do a comparative study when a difference is found between the two.

Take the example of *satsang*. These are different names for the same concept. Otherwise we would not have one of the most important apolitical sources for the study of socio-cultural history of the Sultanate period. Through the pages of *mafuzaat* one can have the feeling of *satsang*. It is a compound word made of *sat* (truth) and *sang* (gathering), i.e the gathering of the Truth, conversing with Truth. That is what exactly happened in the Sufi's *Khanqahs*. Nizamuddin Auliya stressed the importance of *satsang*. In fact his visionary personality took him a step further. It has been already discussed in the second chapter about his zeal to spread the message of the love and the truth. The gathering at the *Khanqahs* of these saints was in fact *satsang* in the true sense and spirit of the word.

Seva, the service of God through serving humanity is the focus point of the Sufi movement. Answering to a question of his disciple, Muinuddin Chishti said that the most superior kind of worship is to assist the helpless and to feed the hungry. Nizamuddin compare 'rituals' with spices and

'service' as meat is the main ingredient of the soup. For Sufis service of humankind is the raison de'tre of religion.⁷⁶

Bhakti and Sufi saints emphasized that worldly life is *maya*, and its glamour is perishable as is the human body, and it will again go back to dust.⁷⁷ It is said that the life of a living being is like a dream, maybe of 60 years, 70 years or more, and the day the human dies, the dream breaks, and he realizes that he has lost the time in running behind *maya* and did not perform the task for which he was given this beautiful human body. Bhakti doctrine explains that the human body is the most elusive form given when the Lord showers His love to get *moksha* (salvation).⁷⁸ Sufis and Bhakti saints said that human body had 10 gates. The body has nine natural gates or orifices, it is therefore through the tenth gate that the Divine light enters the body.⁷⁹

Bhakti and Sufi saints all upheld the notion that God resided within each individual and not in temples or mosques. Merely practicing a religion, reading sacred texts and performing rites and rituals, does not necessarily

⁷⁶ Lawrence, B.Bruce, "Nizamuddin Auliya: Morals of the Heart", p.10.

⁷⁷ "Manus Janam Anmol Re. Maati mein na rol re, Ab jo mila hai, phir na milega, Kabhi nahin, Kabhi nahin, Kabhi nahin re." Kabir Vaani.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Nanak says that the body has nine natural gates like the eyes, ears, mouth, nose, etc. The tenth gate is called the *Dasam Duar*. Hymns of Guru Nanak, Khushwant Singh (trans), Sangam Books, Bombay, p167-168

lead to union with God. In fact, often these external elements alienate the individual from looking within to find Knowledge and Truth. True religion is not to show off what you wear and how you keep yourself. As Nanak writes:

*Religion lieth not in visiting tombs
 Nor in visiting places where they burn the dead
 Not in sitting entranced in contemplation
 Nor in wandering in the countryside or foreign lands
 Nor in bathing at places of pilgrimage.
 If thou must the path of true religion see,
 Among the world's impurities, be of impurirites free.
 When a man meets the true guru
 His doubts are dispelled
 And his mind ceases its wanderings;
 Drops of nectar pour down on him like rain.
 His ears catch strains of sahaja's celestial music
 And his mind is lit up with knowledge divine.
 If thou must the path of true religion see,
 Among the world's impurities, be of impurities free.*

Sayeth Nanak, if thou must be a real yogi ...⁸⁰

From eleventh century onwards in India, the contact and philosophical conflicts between the Sufis and Yogis became more frequent when Sufis

⁸⁰ Ibid. Even Kabir said for such exhibitors that 'Man Na rangaye, rangaye jogi Kapara, Dadhi Badha ke ho gaye Bakara'.

came to India. The Yogis variously regarded as *Siddhas*, had close links with all the eminent Chishti saints as can be attested from their frequent visits to Nizamuddin Auliya⁸¹ and their heated discussions with Baba Farid and *Jamaat khana*. This practice of uninhibited interaction owes its genesis to the historical tradition preceding the establishment of Chishti *silsila* in the sub-continent throughout Turkey, Syria and Egypt. These Yogis were disciples of Goraknath, who were known as Nath Panthis.⁸² Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Delhi was even influenced by the yogic practices of these people, and emphasized to his followers the importance of yoga as a way to help attain salvation. He stressed the importance of each breath.⁸³ The yogis also had involved discussions with Nanak where he argued with them about the importance of *nam marg* and *nam simran*. Nanak emphasized *sahaja avastha* as the state of equipoise from which the God who is purest of pure can be obtained and not by practicing asceticism. This state of equipoise is

⁸¹ The Yogis called Nizamuddin “Sidha” which means one who has achieved the ultimate union with God according to their point of view. See *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*, introduction.

⁸² Nath Panthis were those who followed the teachings of Goraknath who believed that because the path to salvation was difficult it was important for humans to challenge worldly desires, through the practice known as asceticism. Contrary to Sufi and Bhakti principles of salvation via service to humanity and brotherhood, the Nath Panthis asserted that salvation could only be attained through withdrawing from society. Yet it is fascinating to note that Sufis entertained these ascetics at their *khanqahs* and were in fact admired by them.

⁸³ A true Sufi, according to Nasiruddin, was one who regulated his breath, and a class of yogis too he said believed in regulating the breath. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp59-60.

known to Sufis as *fana-ma-al-baqa*, also the *turiya avastha* of the Hindu scriptures.⁸⁴

At this position, the Sufi and Bhakti saints opposed their respective orthodox counterparts who tightly controlled scriptures which were meant to be disseminated to every one. Brahmins did not allow low caste people to learn Sanskrit as it was considered to be the language of *devas*.⁸⁵ They made these texts so complex and difficult that they were unaccessible to the common people and their positions of power could be maintained. Though the *ulema* did not put restrictions on the study of religious texts like the Quran and Hadith, we know from historical texts that those Indians who were of low-caste and who were attracted to the Islamic philosophy of egalitarianism, became the victims of the *ulema*'s most unegalitarian practice.⁸⁶ As discussed in chapter three, Nizamuddin Auliya describes the importance of equality among men and women, a subject which was stressed

⁸⁴ "... By the gentle path of sahaja, Attain God, Purest of the Pure. A disciple who serves his *guru* and no other Will succeeds, says Nanak, that is sure...". Hymns of *Guru Nanak*, p180.

⁸⁵ *Deva* means "Angel", and thus only the upper caste considered themselves entitled to learn Sanskrit. Those who were of lower caste were considered so inferior that if they learnt Sanskrit and read the scriptures the Brahmins believed the scriptures would become contaminated.

⁸⁶ Political historian of the sultanate period, Ziauddin Barani (an "*aalim*") condemned any Indian conversions to Islam. He advised the Sultans of the period to put a stop to the admission of the children of low-born converts to *mardarsahs* (schools) because the education would qualify them for Government jobs. He suggested that only the children of noble families had been chosen by God to rule mankind. This clearly shows how unreliable Barani's writings are in giving us a comprehensive picture of society during the period under review. See for detail "*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*" by Barani.

in both religious movements. Nanak also said that one should not denigrate women as they are conceived and born as men are conceived and born.⁸⁷

In contrast to the orthodox sections of both religions, the Bhakti and Sufi saints practiced and preached humanitarian principles of both religions, and as discussed in chapter two, it is because of this fact that they adopted the languages of the masses, hence the evolution of several local dialects. It is in the same period that Amir Khusrau started composing poems in two languages. He would write the first line in Persian and second in Hindawi. Similarly in the western part of India, Bhakti saints such as Eknath and Namdev were questioning the use of the “Holy” language of Sanskrit. They said “if Sanskrit was made by God, then who made Prakrit?”.⁸⁸

During the thirteenth century the mystics laid importance on the indigenous dialects. The Sufis used Hindawi as the vehicle for communicating their discourses. Hindu mystical songs were recited at the *sama* gatherings. Syed Gisu Daraz admitted that each indigenous language had its own characteristics and importance, and through Hindawi the esoteric ideas of Sufism could easily be expressed.

⁸⁷ “We befriend, wed and go unto them. We slander the sex which gives birth to Kings? All who live are born to women; only God (who is Truth and Reality) owes not His existence to any woman.” Hymns of Guru Nanak, p140.

⁸⁸ Eknath, a Maharashtrian saint, emphasized preaching and practice using the local dialect in order to reach the masses and make them understand about God and self.

These gatherings were common among the Sufis and Bhakti saints. In *Sama* and *kirtan* the mystical songs were recited which brought the spiritual followers to a state of ecstasy, whereby through the music they would be in union with the Divine Being. Hindu mystical songs were also recited in the *sama* gatherings. Many talented musicians participating in the *sama* gatherings were newly converted Muslims. Shaikh Ahmed from Naharwala in Gujarat, who gave the expert renditions on Hindawi *ragas*, lived during the thirteenth century. He undoubtedly attended the most significant *sama* performance, which is clear from his presence when a Persian verse produced such powerful ecstasy in Shaikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, that he died a few days later. Ahmed was said to have been a disciple of Faqir Madhu, the Imam of the Zami Mosque in Ajmer, who retained his Hindu name even after conversion.⁸⁹ In *sama*, a *qawwal*⁹⁰ sings Sufi poetry on musical tunes. This is also to invoke the audience to go into a trance to experience what is called the ‘meeting with the Beloved’. They talk about *ishqe-i-haqeeqi*⁹¹, which has been explained by Bhakti saints like Kabir and Nanak, their couplets regarding this can be read in the Adi Granth.⁹² One

⁸⁹ *Fawaaid-ul-Fuad*, pp186-7.

⁹⁰ A *qawwal* is a vocal musician who sings Sufi poetry in musical tones.

⁹¹ *Ishqe-i-haqeeqi* is a Sufi concept which means love between a human and God.

⁹² The two couplets by Kabir and Nanak are respectively: “When I saw within my heart, I saw my love within me. And lo, when I saw what I saw, I was rid of all my sorrows”, and “O fool, saith thou toucheth

should enjoy the worldly love which Sufis called *ishqe-i-majazazi*.⁹³ This meant that when a person loved his Beloved intensely, at some point of time, a stage was attained which helped in sublimation to the spiritual love of *ishqe-i-haqeeqi*.

Similarly, Chaitanya, who introduced *kirtan*, a musical gathering in which people from a particular area assembled with all kinds of local instruments to invoke spiritual ecstasy. Musical tunes were accompanied by vocals. One member would utter sayings, which would be repeated by others in a typical style. The whole ceremony would go on throughout the night in which they were intoxicated by the ambience or chorus of the music. This invokes them to realize God within. It is possible that *kirtan* was inspired by *sama*. Kabir composed a large number of “love” songs regarding spiritual love.⁹⁴ Chaitanya similarly described the love of Radha for Krishna and this he symbolized as meaning everyone can be the beloved of the Supreme Being. Most of the saints, like Kabir, have shown the soul as the female part in this love as it was considered that the love of female is more intense than the male. Kabir says the attraction between *jivathama* and *paramathma* (a

not another’s creeper, thou art a devoted gardener? But is not the whole world in bloom like a garden of flowers? (Why then love only the part and not the whole?), p1048, Book 9, Adi Granth.

⁹³ *Ishqe-i-majazazi* is a worldly love that is conditional, based on mutual exchange.

⁹⁴ “My eyes are heavy with sleep my Love, come let us go to bed. Lovelorn my body, quivers and quakes”, Love Songs of Kabir, G.N.Das (ed), Abhinava Publications, New Delhi, 1994, p11.

masculine element, from *Param Purusha*) towards each other is for the ultimate union. In contrast, the Sufi's *jivathama* (human soul) which should be a prime mover in this game of love between the two, is to be taken as a masculine element as they hold the view that the love of man for the woman is always stronger and more eloquent than that of woman for man.

Even today in sama gatherings, though not as common as they were during the sultanate period, *qawwali* is still famous for bringing followers to the state of ecstasy. Shankar and Shambhu were the official *qawwals* at the *dargah* of Khwaja Gharib Nawaz of Ajmer. It is worth noting that even though Muslim, Bismillah Khan, plays *shahnai* at the Vishvanath temple at Varanasi, entry is still restricted and common Hindus are discouraged by the priest. This is not sheer coincidence, but is possibly a result of the interplay between the Bhakti and Sufi movements back in the sultanate period.

The *khanqah* of Nizamuddin was always visited by Bhakti saints, and common Hindu people, and even today, Hindus are welcome at Sufi *dargahs* all over the country. Needless to say these Hindu visitors have inherent Bhakti traits, and orthodox believers do not patronize these *dargahs*.

Bhakti saints like Kabir and Nanak can be seen in synchronization with the two spiritual movements. The Hindu saints adopted some Islamic traditions and understandings to preach their doctrines. It is evident that both the Bhakti and Sufi saints preached the same message, based on similar principles. They did not find any difference in the Absolute Being, who was the Creator, and that each individual should try to be in Union with Him. There was no clear distinction between a “Hindu” and a “Muslim” God.

The origin of the Bhakti movement can be traced back to the ancient scriptures like the Vedas, Upanishads, and Buddhist texts and was living in parallel with the Hindu, Buddhist and Jain religions. History gives importance to Hinduism as one of the oldest world religions, because of these written records, and it is from these records that we understand the importance of ‘Union with God’ came from such a time when humanity was born. This can be seen through one of the early religious texts, the Bhagvat Gita, which talks about Knowledge, Action and Bhakti. This is the basis of the Bhakti movement, *nam*, or Knowledge, which has been present since time immemorial, and is still present and will remain so whilst humanity resides in this world.⁹⁵ As referred to in the first chapter of this research, the

⁹⁵ In *Bhagvat Gita* where Lord Krishna explains to Arjuna about Knowledge, he says that this Knowledge is there since humanity was created, and will remain while humans walk the earth. Also, Maharaji says in

core of the Sufi belief system is astoundingly similar to Bhakti. It lies in the acknowledgement of the establishment of the primordial covenant between God and the souls of men and women in a time before creation of the cosmos. The union between God and the souls of every human is known in Sufi literature as the “Day of Alast”. The goal of every Muslim mystic (Sufi) thus came to recapture this experience of loving and ecstatic intimacy with the Lord of the world.

In spite of such sincere religious movements which worked to bind both communities, today people in India and the world are fighting in the name of religion. Perhaps it is because we fail to understand the importance of each human being and each breath we take. We should use the wisdom of the Bhakti and Sufi teachings and apply them to our contemporary problems.



his discourse (November 2000, Delhi), that since *Sanatan Kal* (ancient period), this Knowledge is prevalent and will remain as such.

6. CONCLUSION

Malfuzaat is more than the writings of Sufis. It is an intense appreciation of God, awareness of his closeness, and at the same time his distance. In the absence of mass communication tools, the birth of this literature was also vital for the continuation and spread of Sufism in the sultanate period. *Malfuzaat* not only became an important marketing tool in the hands of the Sufi saints, assisting Nizamuddin in creating an institution for Sufi practitioners, but is arguably the most important literary achievement of the period, and as is shown throughout this thesis, is necessary for the deconstruction of the sultanate period.

Malfuzaat explains many Sufi principles and teachings, but also explains an attitude of the era to a vast range of social problems. The story of medieval India is not only ‘his’ story – ruling classes, sultanates, establishing new empires, expanding territory, and developing new techniques to control them. It is also about ‘their’ story – the story of those who were in fact the majority, but somehow weren’t important enough to make it to the pages of other books of the period.

Malfuzaat are vital in understanding the past and present composite culture. Though generally we are aware of the tradition of slavery in the

Indian medieval period, when we turns the pages of *malfuzaat* we see how they were treated in the *khanqah* and subsequently outside of the *khanqah*.

In particular the author is impressed with the Sufi attitude and practice regarding peasants and gender equality. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, the *malfuzaat* shows the active promotion and practice of gender equality within the *khanqahs*, which numbered over 2,000 in and around Delhi.

The *khanqah* of the saint was a city in itself where people from all walks of life could be seen rubbing shoulders. However the fundamental difference between the outer city and that of the one inside the *khanqahs* was the society of the former was riddled with problems, where massive compartmentalization on the basis of race, caste, class, and religion prevailed, and where cultural interaction among different sections of society was avoided, as severe punishment was inflicted upon those who dared breach archaic separatist laws, laws which were cited as justifications for punishment. On the other hand, egalitarianism was the basic law followed in the *khanqah*, and for visitors it meant freedom from oppressive communal prejudices outside its gates. Slaves and masters, rural folk, urban elite, farmers, traders, poor and rich alike thronged the *khanqah* with the objective of realizing truth and meeting like-minded people. Sufis worked hard to

instill confidence among the common people as they endeavoured to bring about human harmony.

Sufi's contribution to language is another feature of note. Due to their desire to effect as many people as possible, a common language was born which later came to be known as Urdu. The earliest sentences of Hindawi we have discovered were uttered in the *khanqahs*.

The pivotal point of thought of the early Indo-Muslim mystics was their concept of religious attitudes, which constituted the basis of their approach towards society and the state. When asked to explain the highest form of religious devotion, Muinuddin Chishti remarked that it was nothing but feeding the hungry, providing clothes to the naked and helping those in distress.

Elaborating the same view, Nizamuddin spoke about two kinds of devotion to God – *Lazim* (intransitive) and *muta'addi* (transitive). In the *Lazim*, the benefit, which accrues, is confined to the devotee alone. *Lazim* includes the observance of rituals like prayer, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca, recitations of religious formulae, turning over the beads of rosary, and so on. The *muta'addi* on the contrary, brings advantage and comfort to others; it is performed by spending money on others, showing affection to people and by other means through which a man strives to help his fellow human beings. The reward of *muta'addi* devotion is endless and limitless.

The contemporary historians of Alauddin Khalji portray him as a godless king. The ambition behind his famous market policy was allegedly to fulfill his imperialist desires by strengthening his military power. A reading of Nasiruddin's *Khair-ul-Majalis* reveals an intention of a philanthropic nature. It is recorded in this *malfuz*, that after the death of Khalji, his people were in deep mourning, and visited his grave in droves offering prayer. Nasiruddin himself had a very high regard for Khalji.

Similarly, the Tughlaq period has always been considered a very prosperous one because of several projects like token currency, the establishment of a department of agriculture, digging of canals, and giving loans to farmers. As is revealed through Nasiruddin's *malfuz*, the ground reality was quite different, yet a reading of the *Khair-ul-Majalis*'s historical counterparts insist on supporting the notion of Tughlaq's reign and successful and prosperous.

As we see, *malfuz* literature can be utilised, and should be adopted, in terms of collecting as much original information as possible written during the sultanate period. We have seen that texts based on the writings of paid authors of the period and unreliable and biased, and as such, the *malfuzaat*, with its wide ranging scope of topics and its confrontations with the realities of its day, provide us with a credible supplementary historical source which must be used in conjunction with these other texts.

The author believes that he has only just opened the book on this topic. Having analysed just two of the many *malfuzaat* available, there is much potential and scope for further research in this area. For instance, the *malfuzaat* of Hamiduddin Nagori, the *Surur u-Sudur*, is a Rajasthani *malfuz* of the sultanate period, and is yet to be explored, and will no doubt provide some very interesting insights in life in Rajasthan during that period. Similarly, the *malfuz* of Deccan Sufi Gesu Daraz, the *Jaawami ul-Kalim*, and which was compiled by Akbar Husaini, is yet to be deconstructed. The north Indian *malfuz Siraj ul-Hidayah*, is a collection of the discourses of Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari, and was compiled by Makhdumzada Abdullah, and last but not least, the *Maadin ul-Maani* of Shaikh Sarfuddin Yahya Maneri from Bihar, compiled by Maulana Zain Badr Arabi. These *malfuzaat* have yet to be analysed, and will no doubt be a mine of information about the lives of the people of their era.

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**ORIGINAL TEXTS IN PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND
ARABIC SCRIPT**

ملیح مذکور ابعد از آن که ارادت آوردند و گلنه نماز فرمود، دران محل بر لفظ مبارک راند که دو گانه رانیت چه باید کرد، آیدینه هشتتم ماه مبارک شتابان سده مذکور بعد از نذر دولت پاپوس حاصل شد. بنده را علامی بود ملیح نام، اور ایشکر انه ارادت همراه آورد در نظر خواجه ذکر الله بالخیر آزاد گردانید ه شد و دعای خیر ارزانی داشت. همان زمان علام مزکور سر در قدم مخدوم عالیان آورد پسرف. بیعت مشرف گشت و الحمد لله على ذلك، درین محل خدمت خواجه ادامه الله برا کای لفظ مبارک راند که درین راه خوجگی و علامی درمیان نیست هر که در عالم محبت درست آمد کار او ساخته شد. در اثنای این معنی فرمود که پیری بود در غزینیں، علامی داشت زیرک نام، و این زیرک در غایت صدق و صلاحیت بود. چون آن پیر را چهار پسربورند صاحب اختیار و جلد زیرک گفت ای خواجه مرا پسران تو نگذار که بر جای تو بینشیم هر آنینه ایشان با من خصومت کنند. پیر گفت تو بدل فارغ بنشیم اگر ایشان با تو من صدمت کنند من شر ایشان را از تودفع خواهم، الغرض چون پیر بجوار رحمت زیرک بجای خواجه بنشست. پسaran پیر خصومت آغاز کردند که تو علامی از علامان ما باشی ترا چه زهره باش که بر جای پیر ما بنشیمی؛ چون تعدد ایشان بسیار زیر لک شر ایشان از تودفع خواهم کرد، اکنون ایشان در ایزای من شده اند ترا و عده خود بیوفارسانید. پسروضه پیر آمد و گفت ای خواجه تو گفته بودی که اگر پسaran من ترا مرا حامت نمایند من این بگفت و بستان خود بایز آمد. همدران چند روز کافران در نواحی غرینیں بتاختند، خلقی پسدار به ایشان بیرون آمدند، هر چهار پسaran پیر نیزیران آمدند و بحرب پیروستند و هر چهار شهادت یافتند، آن مقام ای مرا حامت بوزیرک مقرر ماند!

ملیح مزکور را بعد ازان که ارادت آورد دو گله نماز فرمود، دران محل بر لفظ مبارک راند که این دور گانه را نیت چه باید کرد، گفت برای نهی ماسوی الله.

لختی سخن در دعا افتاد. فرمود که بنده را وقت دعای باید که هیچ معصیتی که کرده بایش. دل نیارد و نه هیچ طاعتنی زیرا که اگر بیش دل آرد آن 'عجب باشد و دعای مجبوب مستجاب نشود، و اگر معصیت پیش دل آرد در ایقان دعا سستی آرد، پس وقت دعا نظر الل تعالی، دیگر فرمود که وقت دعا باید که هر دو دست کشاده باشد و بر ابر رسینه، و این چنین خاص بر رحمت حق می باید داشت و موقن باید بود که البته این دعا مستجاب است انشا، هم فمده است که هر دو دست متصصل. یکدیگر باید داشت و نیک بلند باید داشت و همچنین صورت باید بست که گویی همین زمان چیزی در دست او خواهد انداخت. در اثنای آن این

معنی هم فرمود که دعا تسکین دل است خدای عز و جل میداند که چه میباید کردا!

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سخن در طاعت افتاد. فرمود که طاعتی است لازمه و طاعتی است متعدیه. طاعت لازمه آنست که منقعت آن همان یک نفس طاعت کننده را باشد و آن نماز است و روزه و حج اوراد و تسبیحات و آنچه بدان ماند، اماً طاعت متعدیه آنست که ازو منقعتی و راحتی بدیگر رسد با اتفاقی و اشفاعی و بدانچه دسترس شود لطف در حق غیری کند، آن را طاعت متعدیه گویند و ثواب آن بیحد و اندازه است، و در طاعت لامه اخلاص می باید تا قبول شود اما در طاعت متعدیه هر گونه که باشد و بکند مثال باشد والله الموفق.

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شنبه هشتم ماه شوال سنته المذکور بسعادت پای بوس رسیده شد. آن روز بندۀ کمینه از حال جمع کردن این معانی عرضداشت کرد، وقتی صالح بود و خلوتی باراحت! بندۀ روی بزمین آورد و گفت که عرضداشتی دارم اگر فرمان باشد عرضه دارم. فرمود که بباید گفت. بندۀ از سالی زیادت باشد که در بندگی مخدوم پیوسته ام و هر بار که سعادت پای بوس حاصل شده است از لفظ ذور بار فوائد شنیده ام چه وعظ و نصیحت و ترغیب در طاعت و چه حکایات مشائخ و احوال ایشان از هر باب کلمات روح افزای بسمع کتاب رسیده است و خواسته ام که دستور حال این بیچاره باشد بلکه دلیل راه این شکسته، بقدر فهم خود در قلم آورده ام، هم بنابران که بارها بر لفظ مبارک رفته است که کتاب مشائخ و اشارات ایشان که در سلوك رانده اند در نظر می باید داشت پس هیچ مجموعه و رای انفاس جان بخش مخدومی نتوانند بود، بر حکم این مقدمه بندۀ آنچه از لفظ مبارک شنیده است جمع کرده است و تا این زمان اظهار نکرده است منتظر فرمان است تا چه فرمان صادر گردد!

یک شنبه بست و نهم ماه ذوالقاده سنه مذکور دولت پای بوس حاصل گشت، سخن در سماع افتاده و وجودی که پیدامی شود. بر لفظ مبارک راند که در ندو نه نام آنجامی خوانند الواجد الماجد، معنی الواجد یعنی الغنى، بعد ازان فرمود که معنی الواجد از وجود هم فمدۀ است یعنی بخشندۀ وجود چنین که شکور اهم اوست، شکور آن را گویند که شکر گوید اما این جا بمعنی آنست که پرنده شکر بندگان، هم چنین الواجد ظاهر آن را ماند که صاحب وجود باشد و این در حق باری تعالی و تقدس درست نیاید، پس این جا الواجد بمعنی الواجد است. بعد ازان ذکر شیخ شهاب الدین سهروردی افتاد رحمته الله علیه که او سماع نشینید. بر لفظ مبارک راند که شیخ نجم الدین گبری علیر احتمه والرضوان گفتی که هر نعمتی که در بشر ممکن است شیخ شهاب الدین را دادند الا ذوق سماع!

بعد ازان ذکر سخن در استغراق شغل شیخ شهاب الدین افتاد، فرمود که وقتی شیخ اوحد کر مانی رحمته الله علیه بر شیخ شهاب الدین آمد. شیخ مصلای خود به پیچید وزیر زانو نهاد، و این معنی نزدیک غایت تعظیم داشته باشد. الغرض چون شب در آمد شیخ اوحد سماع طلبید. شیخ شهاب الدین قوالان را طلب فرمود و مقام مرتب کرد و خود بگوشة رفت و بطاعت و ذکر مشغول گشت. شیخ اوحد و آنها که اهل سماع مشغول شدند. چون با امداد شد خادم خانقاہ بخدمت شیخ شهاب الدین آمد رحمته الله علیه و گفت که شب را سماع بود هر آئینه آن جماعت را نهاری باید. شیخ فرمود شب را سماع بود؟ خادم گفت بود. شیخ گفت من خبر ندارم. بعد ازان خواجه ذکر الله بالخیر فرمود که غایت استغراق وقت شیخ شهاب الدین نگرید که چنان در ذکر مشغول بوده است که از غلبه سماع او خبر نداشته و هر بار که سماع فرو داشت می کردند و اهل سماع قرآن خوانندگی شیخ می شنیدند و شیخ سماع ایشان با چندین غلبه نمی شنید باید دانست که تا چه حد مشغول بوده باشد.

لختی سخن در ذکر مزار های لهوار افتاد. بر لفظ مبارک راند که بسیار بزرگان آنجا خفته اند. بعد ازان بندۀ را پرسید که تولها ور دیده ای؟ بندۀ گفت آری دیده ام و زیارت بعضی بزرگان نجای کرده ام چون شیخ حسین زنجانی رحمته الله علیه و اولیای دیگر.

بعد ازان بر لفظ مبارک راند که شیخ حسین زنجانی و شیخ هجویری رحمته الله علیه هر دو مرید و یک پیر بوده اند و آن پیر قطب عهد بوده است. شیخ حسین زنجانی از دیر باز ساکن لها ور بود، بعد از چند گاه پیر ایشان خواجه علی هجویری را فرمود که در لها ور و ساکن

شو شیخ هجویری عرضداشت کرد که حسین زیجانی آنجا هست . پیر فرمود که تو برد، و
چون علی هجویری بحکم اشارت ایشان در لها و در آمد شب بود با مداد آن جنازه شیخ
حسین زیجانی را بیرون آوردند!

لختی سخن در نظم افتاد . بر لفظ مبارک راند که بعضی مشایخ را نظم خوب و بسیار
است چون شیخ او حد کرمانی را و شیخ ابو سعید ابوالخیر را و دیگر بزرگان را حمته الله
علیهم اجمعین علی الخصوص شیخ سیف الدین با خرزی رحمته الله عليه که او را غلو
تمام بود خوب گفته است تا بغایتی که مریدان بخدمت، او با نمو دند که از هر شیخ کتابی و
تالیفی مانده است تو چرا چیزی نمی نویسی؟ جواب داد که هر بیتی از آن ما است بر
ابر کتاب است!

همین روز بندۀ امید وار را نماز اشراق فرمود و در رکعت اول بعد از فاتحه آیت‌
الکرسی تا خلدُون و در رکعت دوم بعد از فاتحه آمن الرَّسُولُ تا آخر سوره دایه الله نورا
لسِمْوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ تا وَاللهِ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ، علیم بعد ازان فرمود و در رکعت دیگر استعاده در رکعت
اول بعد فاتحه سوره الفلق و در رکعت دعم سوره الناس بعد ازان دو رکعت استخاره فرمود در
رکعت اول بعد از فاتحه سوره الكافرون و در رکعت دوم بعد از فاتحه سوره الاخلاص
ومتعاقب این دو گانه‌ها ادعيه که آمده است.

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یک شنبه بست و یکم ماه ذی الحجه سنه مذکور شرف دست بوس حاصل شد . سخن در تلاوت قرآن
افتاد و حق خواندن آن و ترتیلی که آمده است . بر لفظ مبارک راند که چون خوانده رادر آیتی ذوقی و راحتی
پیدا آید باید که آن را تکرار بکند و راحتی بگیرد .
بعد ازان فرمود که در حالت تلاوت و سماع سعادتی که حاصل می شود آن بر سه قسم است ، انور است و
احوال است و آثار است و آن از سه عالم نازل می شود و آن سه کدام است ملک است و ملکوت است و بین‌ها
جبروت است ، و آن سه سعادت که نازل می شود بر جای فرود می آید بر قلوب و جوارح ، نخست انوار از
ملکوت بر ارواح بعد ازان احوال از جبروت بر قلوب بعد ازان آثار از ملک بر جوارح ، یعنی اول در حال سماع
انوار نازل می شود از عالم ملکوت بر ارواح ، بعد ازان آن آنچه در دل پیدا می آید آن را احوال گویند و آن از
عالی جبروت است بر قلوب ، بعد ازان بکانی و حرکتی و جنبشی که ظاهر می شود آن از عالم ملک است بر
جوارح ، الحمد لله رب العالمین

لختی سخن در صدقه افتاد . فرمود که چون در صدقه پنج شرط موجود شود بی شک صدقه قبول باشد
وازان پنج شرط و پیش از عطا است و دو در حالت عطا است و یکی بعد از عطا است ، اما آن دو شرط دو پیش

از عطا است یکی آنست که آنچه خواهد داد از وجه حلال باشد و دوم شرط آنکه نیت کند که بمردی صالح دهد بکسی که در وجه فساد خرج نکند یعنی با هل صلاح دهد، آن دو شرط که در حالت عطا است یکی آنست که آنچه به تواضع و بشاشت دهد و با نشراح دل دهد دوم شرط آنکه در خفیه دهد، و آن یک شرط که بعد از عطا است آنست که آنچه دهد پیش کسی آن را بر سر زبان نیاردو ذکر آن نکند هر آنینه صدقه قبول افتد. بعد ازان فرمود که صدقه است و صدقه است، صدقه خود معلوم است اما صدقه کا وین است و این هر دو معنی از صدق محبت اقتضا می کند آنکه زنی می خواهد گونی او راه آنینه صدق محبتی پیدا باید کرد پس او کاوین در میان فرد آن صدقه است، و آنکه چیزی در راه حق می دهد هر آنینه بمحبت آنحضرمی دهد به صدق محبت نام آن نیز صدقه است.

بعد از ان حکایت امیر المؤمنین ابا بکر صدیق فرمود رضی الله عنه که او چهل هزار دینار

بحضرت رسالت آورده

شکرانه، چهل هزار دینار دهدن! با میخ و گلیم عشق را بار دهن!

و آن چنان بود که آن روز در خانه ابوبکر صدیق رضی الله عنه چهل هزار دینار موجود بود آن همه بخدمت رسول ر علیه صاو او السلام آورد، مصطفی علیه السلام والتحیه فرمود که بر فرزندان و اهل بیت چه گذاشت ای؟ گفت خدای بس است و رسول او! بعد ازان عمر خطاب رضی الله عنه بیامد و از آنچه ابوبکر صدیق آورده بود نیمه آن آورد. پیغمبر علیه الصلوٰة والسلام فرمود که بر فرزندان و اهل بیت چه گذاشت ای؟ گفت نصف آورده ام و نصف با اهل بیت گذاشت ام. بعد ازان پیغمبر علیه الصلوٰة والسلام در درجه، ایشان به نسبت آورده ایشان حکم کرد!

بعد ازان از کرامت ابوبکر صدیق رضی الله عنه حکایت فرمود که آن روزی که او چهل هزار دینار بیاورد گلیمی پوشیده و میخی بران بخیه زده بخدمت رسول علیه السلام بیامد همان زمان جبرنیل علیه السلام بحضورت رسالت والتحیه آمد هم بران لباس، رسول علیه السلام پرسید که این چه لباس است؟ جبرنیل علیه السلام گفت یا رسول الله امروز جمله ملایکه را فرمان شده است که بر موافقت ابوبکر صدیق رضی الله عنه همه گلیم بپوشید و میخی بران زنند! بعد ازان خواجه ذکره الله بالخير این دو مصرع بر زبان مبارک راند ۲

شکرانه چهل هزار دینار دهدن! با میخ و گلیم عشق را بار دهن!

ازینجا سخن در صدق افتاد. حکایت فرمود که مردی بود بست و هیچ دینار و پنج هزار دینار زادر همیان داشت، با خود اندیشید که بر زیارت کعبه روم و این را بمجاوار این کعبه و ساکنان آن موضع دهم. این نیت کرد و روان شد، در اثنای راه عیاری بی باکی باورسید و تبعیغ برآورد اورا بخشد. آن مرد همیانی که در میان داشت بیرون کشید و پیش او انداخت و گفت مرا بهر چه بر من همین بست و پنج دینار زر است بیرون کشید و بشمر دراست همان بست و پنج دینار بود. آن همه دینار پیش آن مرد نهاد و گفت از آن خود بستان و سلامت بر دکه راستی تو قهر مرا فرونشاند!

بعد ازان در معنی در تصدق حکایت فرمود که وقتی امیر المؤمنین عمر خطاب رضی

الله عنه بيکي ، سپي بخشیده بود و آن اسپ برو لاغر شد چنانکه خيالي ماند ! امير المؤمنين عمر رضي الله عنه ، خاستكه اسپ ازان مرد بخورد به بهای آن روز که بخشیده بود . چون اين معنی بخدمت عليه الصلوة و السلام باز نمود رسول عليه السلام منع فرمود و گفت مخر ، داده خود را باز نباید خريد اگر چه هم بدانگي ببابي !

بعد ازان سخن در فضيلت اطعام افتاد . فرمود که بزرگي گفته است يك درم را طعام بسازند و پيش ياران آرند به از آنكه بست درم صدقه کنند ! هم فضيلت اطعام حکایت فرمود که مردي بود درويش صاحب حالی بر صدر جهان بخارا آمد و گفت مرا به بادشاه شهر کاري است تو شفاعتی بكن و کار مرا برا آر ! صدر جهان گفت من ترا چه دانم و چه شنا سم که شفا عت تو کنم ؟ آن مرد گفت مرا برتو حق است ! صدر جهان گفت چه حق است ؟ گفت وقت تو طعام کشیده بودی من آمده بودم بر مائده تو نشسته و چيزی ازان طعام تو خوردم مرا برتو اين حق است ! صدر جهان چون اين بشنيد بر فور بر خاست و بر بادشاه رفت و کار او تمام کرد .

بعد ازان سخن در معا ملات فقرار افتاد و بيع و شراء ايشان ، فرمود که شيخ بد الدين اسحق عليه لرحمته و الغفران يکي راشطرنجي داد و گفت اين را به بازار ببرو بفروش . بعد ازان گفت درويشانه فروختن چگونه باشد ؟ گفت بخانه باز نيارند بهر بهاي که بباید بفروشنند !

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دو شنبه بست و نهم ماه ذى الحجه سنه مذكور دولت پاي بوس ميسرشد . سخن در مناقب ابراهيم ادهم افتاد رحمته الله عليه . می فرمود که او نه سال در غاري ساکن بوده است و دران غار چشمها جاري بود ، ادهم بر لب چشمها مقيم بودی و خدارا عذ و جل طاعت کردي تا شبی عظيم سرد بود ، هما ناسر ما يا فت بگایتي که بيم هلاكت شد . دران تاريکي دستش بهي پوسيني رسيد ، ون رار خود کشيد هرم شد ، چون روز بلند برآمد آن پوستين از خود دور کرد ، چون نيكونگاه کرد آن ازدها بود چشمها گشاده و سري افراشتی در تحرک آمد ! ابراهيم ادهم رحمت الله عليه دران تحير بود که آوازی شنيدت نجينا اک من التلف بالتلف يعني ترا از چيزی تلف کننده که آن سرما بود نجات داديم ، با ازدها که آن تلف کننده است !

بعد ازان فرمود که درويشی ديگر بر مثل اين كرامت بود ، و آنچنان بود که درويشی در

چاهی افتاد و دلو و رستنی موجود نه بود که بیرون آید در معرض هلاکت شده، ناگاه رشته شکلی دید که از بالای چاه در چاه فرو هشته، دانست که سبب خلاصی اوست، آن را بگرفت و از چاه بالا آمد. چون نیکونگاه کرد شیری آمده بود و دم فرو هشته! او نیز همین آواز شنید که نجینا ک من التلف بالتلّف!

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هم ازینجا سخن در کرامت کرامت اولیاء افتاد. فرمود که ولنی محجوب، مدعی بیامد و در پیش او بنشست خواست که آن ولی را امتحان کند. در خاطر گذارنید که آن را که چشم نابینا باشد که در عالم باطن نیز اوراق تصانی باشد اپس رُدی سوی آن محجوب کرد پُرسید که نشان ولايت چیست؟ درین میان که این سخن می پُرسید مگسی بیامد و بینی آن مدعی بنشست. مدعی آن را براند، با زبیامد بر بینی، او نشست، باز براند و باز سوم براند. درین میان سوال رد که نشان اولیاء چیست؟ محجوب گفت که یک نشان آنست که باری مگس بر بینی اولی، نه نشیند!

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لختی سخن در نگاهداشت لقمه افتاد و اثر آن. فرمود که جوانی بخدمت ابراهیم ادھم رحمته الله مرید شد. آن جوان کثیر الطاعت بود چنانکه ابراهیم ادھم را از طاعت و عبادت بسیار عجب آمد با نفس خود عتاب کرد که این جوان نو در آمده چندین طاعت می کند ترا چندان نیست! بعد ازان بنور ضمیر روشن خود معلوم کرد که آن همه شیطانی است آن جوان همه لقمه ناوجه می خورد و شیطان او را بران طاعت می داشت تا ابراهیم ادھم را آن حال او روشن گشت آن جوان را گفت ازین طعامی که من خورم قوت خود هم ازین بساز. جوان همچنان کرد، همان طعام درویشانه که ابراهیم ادھم می خورد از وجہ هیزم فروشی جوان هم ازان طعام خورد گرفت. آن غلبه طاعت بی اصل او فرونشست با ندک عبادت باز آمد چنانکه نماز فریضه بحیله گزاردن گرفت تا کار آن جوان ساخته شد و بصدق باز آمد!

یک شنبه پانزدهم ماه محرم سنه عشر و سبعماشه دولت پائبوس میرسد. سخن در کتب مشانخ افتاد و فواندی که ایشان نویسد عزیزی حاضر بود عرضداشت کرد که مردی مرا در آوده کتابی نمود و گفت که این نبسته خدمت مخدوم است. خواجه ذکره اللہ بالخیر فرمودنی تقاوت گفته است من هیچ کتابی نه نبسته ام!

بعد از ازان فرمود که شیخ علی هجویری چون کشف المحبوب بنوشت در اول کتاب نام خود یاد کرد بعد ازان دوشه جای دیگر هم، آنگاه سبب یاد کردن نام خود گفت این بود که من پیش ازین اشعار عربی گفتمی دران جای نام، خود نیاوردمی تا جوانمردی آن اشعار همه بنام خود کرد و در وقت نقل بی ایمان رفت!

بعد ازان خواجه ذکره اللہ با لخیر فرمود که این حکایت از من بشنو. حکایت این بود که برهنه بود در شهری، مال بسار داشت مگر والی آن شهر او را مصادره کرد و جمله مال و اسباب او بستد و او را مستاصل گردانید. بعد ازان آن بر همن مفلس و مضطرب شده روزی در راهی می رفت. دوستی او را پیش آمد پرسید که حال رو چیست؟ بر همن گفت نیکو و خوش! آن دوست گفت که همه چیز از تو بستند، خوشی تو از کجاست؟ گفت زنار با منست! بعد از تقریر این حکایت خواجه ذکره اللہ بالخیر روی سوی بنده کرد و گفت معلوم می شود؟ گفتم آری، بنده را استماع این حکایت استظهار باطنی حاصل آمد، معلوم کردم که این حکایت برای تسکین دل این بیچاره فرمود یعنی از توقف مواجب و نایافت اسباب دنیا هیچ غم نمی باید خورد، اگر همه جهان برود باکی نیست، محبت حق باید که بر قرار باشد! الحمد لله بنده تقریب آن تقریر همین تصور کرد.

لختی سخن در دعا افتاد. فرمود که بنده را وقت دعا می باید که هیچ معصیتی که کرده باپیش دل نیارد و نه هیچ طاعتی زیرا که اگر پیش دل آرد آن عجب باشد و دعای مُعجب مستجاب نشود، و اگر معصیت پیش دل آرد در ایقان دعا سستی آرد، پس وقت دعا نظر خاص بر رحمت حق می باید داشت و مُوقن باید بود که البته این دعا مستجاب است

انشاء الله تعالى، دیگر فرمود که وقت دعا باید که هر دو دست کشاده باشد و برابر بینه، و این چنین هم ذمده است که هر دو دست متصل. یکدیگر باید داشت و نیک بلند باید داشت و همچنین صورت باید بست که گوی همین زمان چیزی در دست او خواهند انداشت. در اثنای آن این معنی هم فرمود که دعا تسکین دل است خدای عز و جل میداند که چه میباید کرد!

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دو شنبه یازدهم ماه مبارک محرم سنه احدی عشر و سبعماهه پایی بوس میسر شد. بر لفظ مبارک راند که شیمی بود بزرگ، یکی خدمت او بیام وارد آورد و بیعت کرد و خرقه یاف چنانچه رسم این کار آمده است. بعد از چند گاه خبر بشیخ رسانیدند که آن مرید به مشغول گشته است و بر سرِ معصیتی که بود باز رفت، شیخ چون این معنی بشنید در خانه، آن مرید رفت و اورا گفت بیا در خانه من ساکن شوهر گُنی در خانه من گُن زیرا که درویشی جامع، خیراتست و پرده پوشی یکی از صفات درویشی است، غرض آنکه هر چه در خانه من گُنی من پرده پوشی کنم. مرید چون این سخن بشنید سر در قدم شیخ آورد و تجدید بیعت کرد و تاب مطلق گشت والحمد لله على ذلك.

لختی در تلاوت قرآن افتاد و بر کات حفظ آن. بنده عرضداشت کرد که اگر یاد گرفتن میسر نشود نا ظره خواندن چگونه باشد؟ فرمود که نیکو باشد دران دیده دیده رانیز خطی باشد. بعد ازان فرمود که شیخ کبیر قدس الله سره العزیز هر کراقر آن یاد گرفتن فرمودی گفته اول سوره یوسف یاد گیر هر که سوره یوسف یاد گیرید به بر کت آن حق تعالی اور اتمام قرآن روزی کند!

هم ملايم اين معنی فرمود که پیغمبر عليه السلام فرموده است هر که کرانیت، یاد گرفتن قرآن باشد. و بدان نرسد و همدران نیت از جهان برود چون اورا بگور نهند فرشته بیايد و ترنجی از بهشت بیارد و بدست او ددد، آن را ابتلاع بکند تمام قرآن او را مهفوظ شود، فردا چون حشر شود او حافظ میعوث گردد.

لختی سخن در ذکر دانشمندانی افتاد که درویش صفت باشد و اخلاق. نیک مردان در ایشان باشد. فرمود که من سه دانشمند همچنان دیده ام یکی مولانا شهاب الدین که از میرت بوده است دوم مولانا احمد حافظ، سوم مولانا کیتملی.

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سه شنبه دوازدهم ماه جمادی الآخرسته مذکور دولت پائبوس بدست آمد. سخن در فاتحه افتاد که آن را برای برآمدن حاجات بسیار خوانند. فرمود که هر کرامه‌ی و کاری مشکل پیش آید فاتحه همچنین خواند اول بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بخواند میم الرحيم رادر لام الحمد لله ادخال کند همچنین که بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله، و چون اینجا

رسد که الر حمن الرحيم سه بار گوید الرحمن الرحيم، و چون سوره تمام کند آمين سه بار
بگوید، حق تعالی آن مهم او را بکفایت رساند:

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ساعت مجالس حاصل شد . سخن در نظم افتاد . فرمودند امیر خسرو و امیر
حسن بسیار خواستند که بطريق خواجه سعدی بگویند ، میسر نشد.

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بعد از آن در باب تحمل و بُرد باری بسیار غلو فرمود که هر کهن جفار تحمل کند بهتر
از هر که هست فرد باید خورد و در بند مکافات نباید بود این دو مصرع بر زبان مبارک راند ـ
هر که رایار نبود ایزد او را یار باد و آنکه ما را رنجه دارد راحتش بسیار باد !
بعد ازان این بیت فرمود ـ

هر که او خاری نهد در راه ما از دشمنی هر گلی کز با غ عمرشن بشگفت بی خار
بادا آنگاه فرمود که یکی خار نهد و تو هم خار نهی این خار خار باشد ! در اثنای این کلمات
فرمود که میان مردمان همچنین است که با نغزان نغزی و با کوزان کوزی ، اما میان درویشان
همچنین است که با نغزان نغزی و با گوزان هم نغزی !

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لختی سخن دران افتاد که بعضی به حج می روند و چون می آیند همه روز در ذکر آن
می باشند و همه جا همان حکایت می گویند، این نوع نیکوی است . بعد ازان فرمود که یکی می
گفت من فلان جا عزیز را دیدم . عزیزی او را گفت ای خواجه ازان چه بوده ای نگشته ای چه فا
ئده یعنی همبران پندار مانده ای !

لختی سخن در خدمت افتاد و مراعات رضا فرمود که هر که خدمت کند او مخدوم شود
، کسی خدمت ناکرده مکدوم چگونه شود؟ آنگاه این لفظ بر زبان مبارک راند که من خدم خدم .

دو شنبه بست و یکم ماه مبارک ذی الحجه سنه مذکور دولت پا نبوس حاصل شد. فرمود که از لشکر می آنی یا از شهر؟ بنده عرضداشت کرد که از لشکر می آیم و خانه هما نجا کرده ام. فرمود که جانب شهر می روی؟
بنده گفت که کمتر بعد از ده روز رفته می شود بیشتری در لشکر می باشم و نماز جمعه هم مسجد کیلو کهربی می گزارم. فرمود که واجب کند که هوای لشکر بهتر از شهر باشد و در شهر عفو نتی هم باشد.

از نسبت این معنی بر لفظ مبارک راند که چنین که بعضی زمان از زمان دیگر اختصاری دارد چنانکه روز عید از جمله روزها مخصوص است بشادی، عام همچنین مکانی هم باشد که در راحتی توان یافت که در کانی دیگر نباشد، اما درویش آن باش که از زمان و مکان بیرون رفته باشد نه از هیچ نوع شادی شاد ما گردد و نه از هیچ غمی غمگین و آن کسی باشد که از ملک دُنیا گذشته باشد، و درویش باید که در حالت سخن گفتن دل او مائل باشد بحق و زبان او استمداد کند از دل او از حق! بعد ازان بر لفظ دُور بار راند که من در اوائل این کلمات از مولانا عما الدین سنا می شنیده ام. وقتی من بطرف حوض سلطان بوده ام، او نیز بیامد یکجا نشستیم، ازین بابت سخن می گفت وقتی خوش داشتیم، اما بعد از چهار سال کم و یا بیش بار در مقامی یکجا شدیم ذره، ازان معانی درونمانده بود! بعد ازان بر لفظ مبارک راند که او مشغول شد به خلق. بعد ازان فرمود که شیخ جلال الدین تبریزی قدالله سره لعزیز، چون در دهلی آمد و بعد از چند گاه روان شد می گفت که من درین شهر آمد زر صرف بودم این ساعت تقره ام تا پیشتر چه خواهم شد!

لختی سخن در سماع افتاد. بنده عرضداشت کرد که این شکسته در کار خود حیران ازان جهت که طاعتی و عباتی که بباید ندارد و اوراد و مشغولی درویshan نیست اما چون سماع شنیده می شود رقتی و راحتی تمام حاصل می آید و هم بوقت پاک مخدوم که آن ساعت از هوا نقص و دُنیا و اهل دُنیا هیچ در خاطر نمی گزد. فرمود که آن ساعت از دل از علائق خالی میشود؟ بنده گفت آری. فرمود که سماع برودنوع است اول هاجم است بعد ازان غیر هاجم، هاجم آن را گویند که اول سماع هجوم می آرد مثلاً صوتی یا بیتی شنیده می شود و این کس را در جنبش می آرد این حال را هاجم گویند و این شرح نتوان داد، اما غیر هاجم آن است

که بعد از ان که بیتی سماع اثر کرده آن را بر جانی تحمیل کند بر حضرت. حق یا پیر. خود یا بر جای دیگر که در دل او گذرد، الحمد لله رب العالمین. یکونیست. بعد از ان فرمود که یکی می گفت من فلان جا گشتم و فلان جا عزیز را دیدم. عزیزی او را گفت ای خواجه ازان چه بوده ای نگشته چه فانده یعنی هم بران پندار مانده ای!

لختی در خدمت افتاد و مراعات رضا. فرمود که خدمت کند او مخدوم شود، کسی خدمت ناکرده مخدوم چگونه شود؟ آنگاه این لفظ بر زبان مبارک راند که من خدم خدم. لختی سخن در حسن معامله افتاد. فرمود که یکی ده سنن را که پنج در سراسرت و پنج در تن نظم کرده است

آخرین این بیت گفته است و خوب گفته است ه.

ده سخن در دو بیت آورده کار کن کار کین همه سخنست

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چهار شنبه شانزدهم ماه جمادی الآخره سنت هالمز کور دولت پائبوس حاصل شد. سخن در خشم و شهوت افتاد. فرمود چنانکه شهوت بغیر محل حرام است. بعد از ان فرمود که یکی بر یکی غصب می راند و او تحمل می کند، جمال آن کس را حاصل می شود که تحمل می کند نه آن کس را که غصب می راند!

لختی سخن در ان افتاد که اگر کسی مر کسی نصیحت کند باید که ملا نکند که آن فضیحت باشد، ملامتی و نصیحتی که خواهد کرد در خلا کند بر ملا نکند!

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ازینجا حکایت خواجه عزیز کوتولی بداؤن افتاد. فرمود مردی بود مرید درویشان و پیوند شیخ ضیاء الدین که در بداؤن بودند بدو داشت گاه گاه از درویشان یاد آورده و درویشان را در بار گاه فرستادی و ماجرا کردی و موجه گفتی، هم در بداؤن در جوانی شهادت یافت. در باب او فرمود که روزی من بطرف انبستان بداؤن که آن را لکھی الو گویند رفته بودم، این عزیز

کوتولال زیر درختی نشسته بود و مایده کشیده، چون از دُور مرا دید فریاد کرد و گفت مرحبا بیا نید! من می ترسیدم نباید که ایزا کند، چون رفتم مرا به تعظیم تمام پهلوی خود بشاند، طعام خوردم باز گشتم.

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لختی حکایت شیخ شهاب الدین سهروردی افتاد رحمته الله عليه ، فرمود که او وقتی
مندیلی از شیخ خود یافه بود، آن را پیوسته بر خود داشتی و ازو بر کتها گرفتی در خواب شده
بود و آن مندیل جانب پای او بود ، ناگاه پای او بدان رسید ، چون بیدار شد قلق و اضطراب
بیحد و اندازه نمود تا بغایتی که می گشت که من امید می دارم که فردای قیامت من دربزه آن
انووه و تاسف خواهم بود!

لختی سخن در جمع و خرچ دنیا افتاد. فرمود که دنیارا جمع نباید اما آنچه لابدی با
شد مثل جامه بدان ستر عورت باشد رواست، اما زیادتی نمی شاید، دیگر هر چه می خرج
کنند و ذخیره نکنند. آنگاه این بیت بر لفظ مبارک راند هـ
ز از بهر دادن بود ای پسر ز بهر نهادن چه سنگ و چه زر!

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یک شنبه هفتم ماه جمادی الاولی مذکور بدولت پائیوس رسیده شد. بنده عرضداشت کرد که یکی آب می خورد و دیگران دست پیش می دارند این سنت است؟ خواجه ذکرہ الله بالخیر در تأمل شد. یکی از حاضران لفظی چند فروخواندو گفت این حدیث است که هر که دست پیش کند در وقت آب خوردن دیگری او آمرزید شود البته، خواجه ذکرہ الله بالخیر بر لفظ مبارک این حدیث در کتب احادیث که مشهور است و معتبر نیامده است شاید که بوده باشد، حدیثی که مردم بشنوند هم چنین نتوان گفت که این حدیث رسول نیست اما این توان گفت که در کتبی که احادیث جمع کرده اد و اعتباریا فته نیامد است.

شنبه دهم ماه مبارک رجب سنه مذكور دولت پانبوس حاصل شد، سخن در تحمل افتاد، فرمود که معامله خلق بر سه قسم است قسم اول کس بدیگری نه منقعت رسونه مضرت، حکم این چنین کس حکم جماد باشد، قسم دوم آنست که ازین کس بدیگری منقعت رسونه مضرت نه، این بهتر است، قسم سوم ازین هر دو بهتر و آن آنست که ازین کس بدیگری منقعت رسونه اگر کسی اور امضرت رساند او مكافات آن نکند و تحمل کند و این کار صدیقان است!

حکایت دیگر فرمود که وقتی زنی پیش عمر آمد رضی الله عنہ و گفت یا امیر المؤمنین من حملی دارم از زنا، عمر رضی الله عنہ امر بر جمها آنجا هم حکم کرد که آن زن را سنگسار کنند، امیر المؤمنین علی نیز دران مجلس حاضر بود، فرمود که درین حکم تامی می باید کرد، عمر چگونه؟ علی گفت اگر گناه کرده است آن عورت کرده است طفی که در شکم اوست او چه گناه کرده است؟ بعد ازان امیر المؤمنین عمر رضی الله عنہ فرمود که آن زن رانگاه دارند تا وضع حمل شود، آنگاه هم این لفظ بربازان مبارک راند که لولا علی له لک عمر،

لختی حکایت خواجہ فرید الدین عطار افتاد رحمته الله عليه، فرمود که شیخ جلال الدین تبریزی طیب الله ثراه خواجہ فرید الدین عطار رحمته الله عليه رادر نیشا پور دیده بودم، مگر وقتی باشیخ بها، الدین زکریا رحمته الله عليه حکایت کرد که مرا مرد خداشان ده، نتوانستم که کسی نشان دهم، شیخ بهنان الدین چون این بشنید گفت درین محل چرا از شیخ شهاب الدین نشان ندادی؟ شیخ جلال الدین گفت که من مشغولی که در خواجہ فرید الدین عطار دیدم مشغولی دیگران به جنبه آمزعولی است! درین میان خواجہ ذکره الله بالخير، او گفت که من خواجہ فرید الدین عطار را دیده بودم در اول حال عظیم پریشان قدم بود. آنگاه

خواجه ذکرہ اللہ بالخير فرمود کہ چون عنات حق در آید چنین چیز ها شود بعد ازان از واقعه، او حکایت فرمود و گفت او شہید شد و آنچنان بود که کفار در نیشا پور رسیدند و او با هفده یا بهم مستقبل قبله نشسته بود منتظر آنکه کافران بیایند و ایشان را شہید کنند، همان زمان کافران در رسیدند و تیغ در نہاد و گشتن آغاز کردند، دران وقت خواجه فرید الدین عطار رحمته اللہ علیہ چون دید که یاران او را گشتن گرفتند دران حال می گفت این چه تیغ قهاری است و این چه تیغ جباری است! چون او را گشتن گرفتند آن زمان می گفت این چه کرم است و این چه مکرمت است و این چه احسان است!

Historical Value

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It was his anxiety to benefit all people and not a section or class of people, much less the alone.

بادشاه در چه تفکر بود. سلطان گفت: بشنوید، چند باشد که ما را خیالی در دل شده است، با خود می گفتم، ای فلان خدای تعالی را در جهان چندین بندگان اند، مارابر سر ایشان بر گزید، اکنون چیزی می باید کرد که از من نفع بهمه خلق رسد. با خود گفتم چه باید کرد. جمله خزاین که من دارم و صد چندین دیگر باشد بدهم. بهمه خلق نرسد. و اگر دیه ها و ولایت ها دهم، هم نرسد. درین تفکر بودم که چه کنم که از من بهمه خلق نرسد.

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That the Sultans purpose was well served is borne out by several other anecdotes and references to the prosperity of the people during the Alai period as given in this book

هر طرفی سرود و رقصی بودی. و آن دعوتها به یک تنگه مرتب شدی یا بیشتر. آنگاه فراخی، ساز عهد سلطان علا، الدین یاد کردند. فرمودند: چه ارزانی بود. درین زمانستان هیچ فقیری لبانچه نبودی، و آن لبانچه چند شدی. یک جیتل برد بودی، و سی جیتل جامگی مکینه و دوازده جیتل استرو پنبه، یک تنگه مشین (مشین)، دو تنگه بیست برین قیس. چهار جیتل با یک شش گانی دوز بندی و مزدوری، نداف بودی.

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Text Page-185

That the Sultans purpose was well served is borne out by several other anecdotes and references to the prosperity of the people during the Alai period as given in this book.

چون بنده به خدمت رسید، پرسیدند. درویشان بالا نشسته اند با فرو^۹ بنده عرضداشت کرد: بالا نشسته اند. فرمودند که این زمان درویشان کم شده اند. در عهد دولت شیخ درویشان بیست گان سی

گان می رسیدند و خدمت شیخ ایشان را سه گان روز مهمن داشتند. بعد ازان فرمودند که در آن ایام توکلی بود. آنگاه زر فراخی نعمت و ارزانی یاد کردند. هفت نیم جیتل گندم، نیم درم شکر، یک جیتل چیزی کم شکر تری و همچنین جامه و اقشمه دیگر هم ارزان بود. اگر کسی خواستی دعوتی و جمعیتی کند، دو تنکه و چهار تنکه چندان طعام شدی که جمعی را کافی بودی. بعد ازان لنگرهای آن وقت که در شهر واحوالی شهر بود، یاد کردند. لنگر رمضان قلندر و لنگر ملک یار پران و چند لنگر دیگر فرمودند. آنگاه گفتند که در آن ایام این چنین بچگان نبودند. همه مردان با مهابت و درویشان کامل بودند.

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Text Page- 88

چون پیرو و معمر شد از کتابت ماند. قاضی حمیدالدین ملک التجار بر سلطان علاء الدین عرضداشت کرد که این چنین بزرگی هست تا این زمان روز بكتابت گذرانید. این زمان از کتابت باز ماند. او را از بیت المال چیزی تعیین شود. سلطان هر روز یک تنکه فرمود. گفت چیزی من نخواهم ستد. همان یک شش گانی بدهید. بعد ازان بحیله، بسیار دوشش گانی قبول کرد.

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Text-P-241

We know from Khair-ul - Majalis that the people of Delhi had a very high opinion of Ala- ud -din Khalji and that after his death they used to visit his grave and tie threads on it in order to get their prayers granted by God.

یکی گفت خلق در زیارت او میروند و ریسمان می بندند و حاجتها بر می آید. بنده را درین محل حکایت یاد آمد عرضداشت کردم. هم درین ایام من بنده زیارت سلطان علاء الدین رفته بودم. بعد از نماز زیارت کردم و آنجا آمدم که خلق ریسمانها می بندند.

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Incidentally it may be noted that Shaikh Nasir-u'd- din himself used the words (May the blessing God be on him) with the name of the Sultan. It shows

the deep respect in which the Sultan was held by the great saint.

چه بادشاهی بود سلطان علاء الدین . یکی گفت خلق در زیارت او میروند و ریسمان می بندند و حاجتها بر می آید . بنده را درین محل حکایت یاد آمد عرضداشت کردم . هم درین ایام من بنده زیارت سلطان علاء الدین رفته بودم بعد از نماز زیارت کردم و آنجا آدم که خلق ریسمانها می بندند .

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Text-Page-185&240

The Shaikh often contrasts the conditions during the reign of Firoz Shah (who is not mentioned by name) with the conditions prevalent during the reign of Ala-u'd-din Khalji .

چون بنده به خدمت شیخ رسید ، پرسیدند . درویشان بالا نشسته اند یا فرو؟ بنده عرضداشت کرد : با لا نشسته اند . فرمودند که این زمان درویشان کم شده اند . در عهد دولت شیخ درویشان طلب بیست گان سی گان می رسیدند . و خدمت شیخ ایشان را سه گان روز مهمن داشتند . بعد ازان فرمودند که دران ایام توکلی بود . آنگاه زرفراخی نعمت و ارزانی یاد کردند . هفت نیم جیتل گندم ، نم درم شکر ، یک چیزی کم شکرتی و همچنین جامه و اقشمه دیگر هم ارزان بود . اگر کسی خواستی دعوتی و جمعیتی کند ، دو تنکه و چهار تنکه چندان طعام شدی که جمعی را کافی بودی .

درین روزها در حظایر و باغات و حوضی جانمی یافتند . هر طرفی سرود و رقصی بودی . و آن دعو تها به یک تنگه مرتب شدی یا بیشتر . آنگاه فراخی ، سال عهد علاء الدین یاد کردند . فرمودند : چه ارزانی بود . درین زمستانها هیچ فقیری بی لبانچه نبودی ، و آن لبانچه چند شدی یک تنگه مشین (پشمین) ، دو تنگه بیست جیتل برد بودی ، و سی جیتل جامگی مکینه و دوازده جیتل استرو پنبه ، برین قیاس . چهار جیتل با یک شش گانی دوز بندی و مزدوری ، نداف بودی .

Page- 32/

Text -P-185

طلبیده است ، گفت حقیقت باران خواهد بارید . در حال فرمود ، ساختگی دعوت کردند و درویشان آنوقت حاضر شدند و قاضی حمید الدین حاضر شدند . درویشان در تواجد شدند . بaran آغاز شد . چندان باریکه خلق میگفت اگر بماند خوب باشد . الحمد لله رب العالمين .

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Text, P-157

Shah Nasir-u'-din condemned grave -worship but did not dis-approve visits to the graves of saint. He declared:
تعظیم گور هم نیامده است، اما طواف بر تربت بزرگی از بزرگان دین آمده است.
(Respect the graves also has not been condemned ,but circummambulating round the graves of the elders of religion has been referred to[as permitted])

ازین جا سخن در صدق عاملات افتاد . فرمودند می باید که خلوس نیات باشد . و صحنه، النیته ان لا تتحرک بدون نیته و لا تکلم بدون نیته . اگر یکی نماز می گزارد و نیت او آنست که دیگری به بیند ، بعضی گفته اند که نماز اور روانیست . وبعضی گفته اند کافر شود ، زیرا که در عبادت شرک می آرد : و لا یشرك بعبادة ربه ، احد بعد ازان فرمودند که پیش مخلوق سر بر زمین نهادن روانیست . اما بوسیدن بلب آمده است و تعظیم گور هم نیامده است، اما طواف به تربت بزرگی از بزرگان دین آمده است. بعده بر لفظ مبارک رادن که طاعت فرمان است و باز آمدن از معصیت فرمان . اما جزای آنکه از معصیت باز می آید، با ضعاف آن جزا آنست که طاعت بکند ، زیرا که روا باشد در طاعت ذوق و راحت باشد و در باز آمدن از معصیت تعب نفس است : انسا اجرک على قدر تعیک .

Page - 33/2

Text, P-88

The Shaikh heard him patiently but recommend:
من خدمت خواهم کرد . شیخ فرمود ، مولانا ا برو . مولانا آنجارفت . بعد ازان روز گار او خوش گذشت . خدمت خواجه چون شنید ، فرمودند ، مولانا ! دران وقت معتقد ان بسیار بودند ، این زمان با که توان گفت ؟ صبر می باید کرد . صوفی گفت که میدانم صبر باید کرد ، و شکایت نباید کرد .

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The Shaikh narrates the story of a *wali* who had worked so efficiently for the property and

Page-11/ The story of Rashid ,a merchant of Delhi.

Text P - 93

Theme: 1.

2.

درین شهر مردی بود، او را رسید بندت گفتندی، خداش غریق غفران گرداند. سوداگران را رسم است که در خانه‌ای ایشان دو منزل باشد. یکی دو کانی که آنجا خرید و فروخت کنند، چیزی بخرند و بفروشند، و یک منزل آنجا باشد که انجا حرم باشد.

Page- 14

Text,P-74- 75

There is

very brief reference in Khair-u'l-Majalis (pp.74-75) to Sultan Qutb-u' d- din Mubarak Khalji's attitude towards Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya . The Siyar-u'l- Arifin gives a detailed account which is not found in the present text of Khair-u'l- Majalis.

Page-16

Text, P- 45

The present text Khair-u'l -Majalis gives (p.45) a brief account of scarcity during the reign of Iltutmish (his name not mentioned) ,but Jamali gives (154-155) the following details on the authority of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din:

بعد ازان حکایت دیگر فرمودند . اول گفتند که شیخ الاسلام شیخ قطب الدین قدس سره العزیز دران وقت در حیات بودند ، باز تفکر کردند و فرمودند که در حیات نبودند . قاضی حمید الدین ناگوری بود . دران وقت استقسا شد . بادشاه کسان را بر درویشان فرستادو گفت : حرب و قتال حق ماست ، ما آن میکنیم . دعا حق شما است . شما دعا بکنید ، تا باران ببارد . قاضی حمید الدین ناگوری رهمنته الله علیه بر بادشاه گفته فرستاد که درویشان را دعوی بدهند . باران خواهد بارید . بادشاه چون شنید که قاضی حمید الدین سماع

Cloth and other articles were also cheap.

چون بنده به خدمت شیخ رسید، پرسیدند. درویشان بالا نشسته اند یا فرو؟ بنده عرضداشت کرد: بالا نشسته اند. فرمودند که این زمان درویشان کم شده اند. در عهد دولت شیخ درویشان طلب بیست گان سی گان می رسیدند. و خدمت شیخ ایشان را سه گان روز مهمان داشتی. بعد ازان فرمودند که دران ایام توکلی بود. آنگاه زرفراخی نعمت و ارزانی باد کردند. هفت نیم حیتل گندم، نیم درم شکر، یک چیزی کم شکر تری و همچنین جامه و اقشمه دیگر هم ارزان بود. اگر کسی خواستی دعوی و جمعیتی کند، دو تنکه و چهار تنکه چندان طعام شدی که جمعی را کافی بودی.

Page- 32/ 6

Text- P- 240

.....
.....

About the good feast

A good feast could be arranged in two to four tankas.

صوفیان آن زمانه را چه توان گفت! چه صاحب حال بودند که متعلمای آن وقت همه صالح بودند، اما متعلمای این وقت هم بیشتری صالح اند. آنگاه فرمودند که در آن وقت دعوتها عام بودی، در مواسم و آخرین چهار شنبه، ماه سفر که آید.

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Text- P- 185

There were a number of langars (free kitchens) in Delhi , like the langar of Malik Yar \ Parran , where food was freely distributed .

بعد ازان لنگرهای آن وقت در شهر و حوالی شهر بود، باد کردند. لنگر رمضان قلندر و لنگر ملک یار پران و چند لنگر دیگر فرمودند. آنگاه گفتند که در آن ایام این چنین بیچگان نبودند. همه مردان با مهمات و

درویشان کامل بودند.

his territory . The Shaikh remained silent for a after giving his account , and then remarked:
مولانا! دران وقت معتقد ان بسیار بودند ، این زمان به که توان گفت ، صبر میباید کرد.

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Text, P-93

The Khair-u'l- Majalis contains a number of *Hindivi* words and sentences which are of value in tracing the origin and development of the Urdu language. We come across words like ڈولہ، کھٹ، کھچٹری و چھپر: and the following Hindivi sentences:

(الف) آخر شب خواب غفلت غالب شد ، بخت. وقت صبح ڈولہ بگذشت و او خفته بود. چون روز شد ، دران روز وعدہ ترکیش شیخ ابو لخیر بود. خلق حاضر شدند. (صفحہ ۲۸)

(ب) بعد ازان خدمت شیخ فرید الدین قدس سرہ اور انزدیک طلبید و گفت همین اینک برادر تو صحت یافت بر کھٹ نشاندہ اند و آشا میدنی می خورد ، او معانہ دید ، از خدمت شیخ در خانہ آمد ، برادر او صحت یافته بود. (صفحہ ۱۲۷)

(ج) در منزلی از منازل راه خرچی که به بغلام بود فراموش کرد. در اثنا ، راه غلام را یاد آمد. پیش آمد و از پانگہ شد. شمس الدین گفت: چیست که پانگہ میشوی. گفت خرچی که بر من بود. در منزل بالائی کھٹ بسته بودم. (صفحہ ۲۱۶)

(د) شیخ را معلوم شد. برخاست ، بالائی کھٹ آمد و زن را بر خود طلبید و دست او بگرفت ، بر شکم خود مالیدن گرفت. (صفحہ ۲۵۱)

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Text,P-123

(تو مرا گسانین امیرا کرتار ! (مجھے اس تاب تھیں چھڈا) بعد ازان این حکایت فرمودند کہ عہد موس پیغامب صلوا اللہ وسلام علیہ در بنی اسرائیل بت پرستی بود کہ چہار صد سال بت پرستی کرد و درین چہار صد سال یک روز ناغہ نکرد و سر از پای بت برنداشت و درین چہار صد سال حاجتی ازو نخواست. روزی او را تپ آمد و سر از پای بت نہاد و گفت: تو میرا گسانین تون میرا کرتا مجھے اس تاب تھیں چھڈا. و بپارسی آنست که بابت گفت که تو خدای منی ، تو پورد گار منی ، مرا ازین تپ خلاصی ده. این لفظ بزیان هندی فر

مودن، همچنان نوشته شد.

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Text, P-191

(ارے مولا نا! یہ بڈا ہوسی) علی مولانا چون دید آغار کرد بہ زبان هندوی: ارے مولا نا! یہ بڈا ہوسی، .. یعنی ای مولانا! این مردی بزرگ خواهد شد. بعد ازان گفت کہ نیک بزرگ خواهد شد. مولانا علانالدین گفت: از کجا می گوئی؟ گفت: من درو دو چیزی می بیشم. یکی آنست کہ بزبان هندوی گفتند: جو منڈاسا باندھی سو پان پسری؟؛ یعنی آنکہ دستار بر سر بندد او در پای کسی افتاد؟ دیگر گفتکہ در دستار او ابریشم نیست. دستار ساده است. این بزرگ خواهد شد.

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Text,P-191

(جو منڈاسا باندھی سو پان پسری!) علی مولانا چون دید آغار کرد بہ زبان هندوی: ارے مولا نا! یہ بڈا ہوسی، .. یعنی ای مولانا! این مردی بزرگ خواهد شد. بعد ازان گفت کہ نیک بزرگ خواهد شد. مولانا علانالدین گفت: از کجا می گوئی؟ گفت: من درو دو چیزی می بیشم. یکی آنست کہ بزبان هندوی گفتند: جو منڈاسا باندھی سو پان پسری؟؛ یعنی آنکہ دستار بر سر بندد او در پای کسی افتاد؟ دیگر گفته کہ در دستار او ابریشم نیست. دستار ساده است. این بزرگ خواهد شد.

Page-34/10

Text, P-123

(تو کرتار نہیں) بعد ازان این حکایت فرمودن کہ عہد موسی پیغمبر صلوا اللہ وسلام علیہ در نی اسرائیل بت پرستی بود کہ چہار صد سال بت پرستی کرد و درین چہار صد سال یک روز ناغہ نکرد و سر از پای بت بر نداشت و درین چہار صد سال حاجتی ازو نخواست. روزی اورات پ آمد و سر از پای بت نہاد و گفت: تو میرا گسانیں تون میرا کرتا مجھے اس تاپ تھیں چھڑا۔ و بپارسی آنست کہ بابت گفت کہ تو خدا

منی، تو پرورد گار منی، مرا ازین تپ خلاصی ده. این لفظ بزبان هندی فرمودند، همچنان نوشته شد.

Page-177/3

Text,P-157

The reaction of Indo-Muslim mysticism to this intellectual ferment created by the movement of Ibn Taimiya may be read in the pages of Khair ' ul-Majalis. He stopped the objectionable practices but firmly protected the basic ideas of mysticism.

ازین جا سخن در صدق معاملات افتاد. فرمودند می باید که خلوص نیات باشد. و صحنه النیتہ آن لا تتحرک بدون نیتہ ولا تکلم بدون نیتہ. اگر یکی نماز می گزارد و نیت او آنسست که دیگری به بیند، بعضی گفته اند که نماز اور وانیست. وبعضی گفته اند کافر شود، زیرا که در عبادت شرک می آرد: ولا یشرك بعبادة ربه أحداً. بعد ازان فرمودند که پیش مخلوق سر بر زمین نهادن روانیست. اما بوسیدن بلب آمده است و تعظیم گور هم نیامده است، اما طواف بر تربت بزرگی از بزرگان دین آمده است. بعده بر لفظ مبارک راندند که طاعت فرمان است و باز آمدن از معیصت فرمان. اما جزای آنکه از معیصت باز می آید، با ضعاف آن جزا آنسست که طاعت بکند، زیرا که روا باشد در طاعت ذوق و راحت باشد و در باز آمدن از معیصت تعب است: ا، نما اجرک على ق در تبعک.

Page- 179/4

Text, P-

The people of Delhi had so great so great faith in him death they used to visit his grave and tie threads on it in the belief that thier prayers would thus be granted by god.

Page- 180/1

Text, P-139

The Shaikh remained silent for a while after giving his account , and then remarked:" All efforts of the former rulers were directed towards fostering the welfare of the people."

امیرالمؤمنین عمر او را پیش طلبیده گفت که تمام ولایت تقحص کردند، هیچ دیهی خراب نیست.
آن والی گفت: مقصود من همین بود که امیرالمؤمنین عمر ربداند که این ولایت هم چنین آبادان بتومی
سپارم، اگر بعد از این خراب شود عهده قیامت تو باشی. بعد از این زمانی ساکت شدن و فرمودند که پادشاهان
پیشین را هر کس و شرکت در پروردن رعیت بسود.

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Text- P- 240

Theme:

Then, referring to his own times (the reign of Firuz Shah) the Sheikh said.

این زمان نه آن لنگر داران و نه آن بندگان مانده اند . عمه کراب شدند.

Page - 5/1

Text -P -28

Shaikh Nasir-u'd -din supervised Qalander 's work regularly .On completing one juz(fasciculus) Hamid had hardly showed it to the Shaikh who read it and approved.

بالخير والسعادة قد مبوس بحسبت آمد . بندۀ جزء، اول از کتاب خیرالمالس بیاض کرده بود و بخدمت خواجه برده . خواجه ذکره اللہ بالخير مطالعه فرمودند و بشرف استحسان ارزانی داشتند و مناسب حفظ و یاد گرفتن فوائد بزرگان حکایت فردند که مولانا حمید الدین ضریر رحمته اللہ علیہ شاگرد مولانا شمس الدین گردیزی بود و صاحب بزودی و شمس الدین و فخر الانسیه سرخسی از شاگردان شمس الانسیه حلوانی بودند .

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Text-P-285

Shaikh Nasir-d' -din , he writes , " has so broken his nafs (ego) that if I call him a Shaikh , he resents it ; if I attribute a miracle to him , he gets angry .

نفس خود بحدی شکسته اند که اگر شیخ نویسم خوش نشوند و اگر از کرامت بگویم برنجند.

Page-11/ The story of an oil dealer who had lost his wife.

Text- P-236

بالخير والسعادة ملاقات حاصل شد . حکایت کرامت شیخ الا سلام فرید الحق و الدین قدس سره العزیز فرمودند که روغن فروشی بود . در حدود اجودهن دیه بودی . مقطع آن دیه رانهیب کرد